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FRANCIS BACON

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FRANCIS BACON

Selections

With Essays by

MACAULAY & S. R. GARDINER

Edited by

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INTRODUCTION

I

FRANCIS BACON, the youngest child of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper under Queen Elizabeth, was born 22nd January 1561. Going to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1573, he stayed there till the end of 1575, and in 1576 entered at Gray's Inn. After two years residence in France (1577-9), in the suite of the Ambassador, Sir Amyas Paulet, he returned to study law and was admitted an Utter Barrister in 1582. He entered Parliament in 1584, and for the rest of his life was closely interested in politics and in procuring his own advancement, first through Lord Burghley, who had married his mother's sister, and then through the Earl of Essex, with whom he was associated for some years as a close friend and counsellor. But when Essex, after his failure in Ireland, turned in desperation against the Queen's advisers, and was seized and arraigned for high treason, Bacon took an active part in the prosecution. Even before the fall of Essex, Bacon had been cultivating the friendship of Sir Robert Cecil, Burghley's son, who became Earl of Salisbury in 1603, and he adhered to him until his death in 1612. Bacon's progress, notwithstanding, was slow. Knighted in 1603, he was made Solicitor-General in 1607, but his repeated efforts to become Attorney-General did not succeed until 1613. From this time onwards he applied himself successively to James and his two favourites, Rochester and Buckingham, through whom he sought the King's countenance and support. He became Lord Keeper in 1617, and in 1618 Lord Chancellor with a peerage as Baron Verulam. In January 1621 he was made Viscount St. Albans, and then, with startling suddenness in March

of the same year, was accused of taking bribes in his official capacity. He met the charges which followed by a humble submission and confession, and was found guilty by the House of Lords. His own judgement on himself was the famous sentence (written in cipher), 'I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years, but it was the justest sentence in Parliament that was these two hundred years.'

In judicature and in politics, as in philosophy, he was cursed with the fate of one trying to make the best of two worlds. With a recognition of the necessity of Parliament he combined a profound belief in the King's prerogative: with a strong sense of efficiency, which made him anxious to codify the law and which enabled him rapidly as Chancellor to clear off arrears, he yet continued the fatal custom of taking presents as a judge and of listening to the recommendations of his patron. The position was an impossible one, and when confronted with an attack against which it was clear that the King would give him no support, he made no attempt at defence, and accepted his fate. With remarkable elasticity and hopefulness he contrived to live on, husbanding his ruined fortunes and pursuing the studies to which he had hoped, until his fall came, to give the support and prestige of his great position. The literary output of these years shows what he might have achieved had not so much of his life been spent on fruitless solicitation and intrigue. If we are disposed to take a harsh view of his character we shall do well to bear in mind some considerations which may mitigate our judgement. The temptations of his age were not those of ours. The persistent cultivation of the friendship of the great, from which we are inclined to recoil, is not a graver fault than the flattery of a party or a class which besets the pushing politician of to-day, and the abandonment of an old friend in time of danger wore a less repulsive aspect to an age in which 'Fortuna and Virtù' were recognized as the sole determining factors

in public life. It was an age in which all statesmen lived dangerously, and when the Tower and the scaffold were familiar incidents in a State whose government had but recently become stable and secure, where persons still counted for more than parties, and plots and counter-plots had not yet been superseded by the more peaceful methods of party policy. It should also never be forgotten that, whatever may be thought of the great Chancellor, his closest and most intimate friends, Rawley, his chaplain, and Sir Toby Matthew, who knew his inmost mind, never faltered in their admiration.

There are some historians who think that Bacon's advice, had it been followed, might have saved England from civil war. Lawyers are agreed in placing him high among the series of Chancellors. Men of science, though they may make light of his methods, do not hesitate to applaud the spirit and stimulus of his writing. To the plain man, impatient of policies and distrustful of logic, he will always appeal as a master of English style, and a man of courage who in the hour of adversity turned to a new field of work, and who to the end remained faithful to the researches which in the quieter moments even of his crowded earlier days he believed to be the main business of his life.

II. BACON AS AUTHOR

The tragedy of Francis Bacon's life, the contrast between his high ideals and his shortcomings in friendship and honour, the controversy over his character which the older among us can remember in the eighties,¹ may for a time have diverted men's minds from his greatness as a master of English. Like another great man of letters, with whom Lord Macaulay has compared him, he lived at the meeting of an old world and a new, and failed to reconcile their ideas.

¹ Dr. Abbott's *Bacon and Essex and Francis Bacon*, 1885; Dean Church's *Bacon*, 1884; T. Fowler, *Bacon*, 1881; Gardiner's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1884.

Like Cicero he left in his correspondence and private memoranda a wealth of evidence on the movements of his mind, which supply a full record of his importunate ambitions, and put him at a disadvantage with the world. A more reticent nature would have given less handle to critics. But when all such allowance has been made there must remain a sense of disquiet and distress in the mind of those who admire Bacon as a writer, to think that so great a master of the glory of words, so eloquent a prophet of the new world in which 'many shall go to and fro and knowledge shall be increased', proved himself so supple a time-server. The very complexity of his character has its attraction, and the psychological problem of 'the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind' will continue to engage the attention of historians and philosophers.

The desire to perpetuate his fame in Latin is typical of his whole life. The contemporary of Shakespeare and Raleigh, thrilled like them by the quick current of new life and by the expanded vision that belongs to that age of exploration and discovery, he was but half enfranchised from the influences of an earlier age. The critic of Aristotle, he still moves among phrases and formulae, 'axioms' and 'forms', which suggest the language of the Schoolmen. A writer of stately and nervous English, eager to break new ground, and conscious of the greatness of his country, he cannot understand that his fame will be more secure in English than in Latin.¹ A preacher of experiment and research, full of enthusiasm for discovery, he never succeeds in stating clearly and convincingly the new method which is to revolutionize the world of knowledge. Living, as Dr. Abbott has pointed out, in an age which produced Napier's Logarithmic Tables (1614), Galileo's thermometer and telescope, Gilbert's *On the Magnet*—the contemporary of Tycho Brahé and of Kepler, he was singularly out of

¹ Letter to Sir Toby Matthew (1623); see Abbott's *Francis Bacon*, p. 454.

touch with the actual discoveries of his time. He is still curiously fettered by the intellectual mechanism of the older world. It seems to us sometimes that he was too ready to believe that the process of discovery is a simple thing if only the new method be mastered and rigorously applied to a complete collection of recorded facts, a new Natural History. It might seem that he had not enough close experience of scientific inquiry to understand that the progress of discovery cannot be tied down to any mechanical method and that the insight which enables the discoverer to put the whole complex matter of his subject in a new light is something beyond rules, and like all works of genius, operates by a creative intuition which no mere analysis can supply. But of this we must leave men of science and philosophers to judge. The Earl of Balfour, who, like Bacon, has combined philosophic speculation and high affairs of State, concludes : ' I do not think that any one who really tries to make out what Bacon meant by his Prerogative Instances and his Analogies will either deny that he believed in the unity of nature and in our power of co-ordinating its multitudinous details, or will suppose that he underrated the helps which the imagination, and only the imagination, can give to him who is absorbed in the great task.' ¹

His philosophical works, which he regarded as all forming part of his ' Instauratio Magna', the great Renewal of Science, were indeed fragmentary and incomplete. Only portions of the parts into which Bacon contemplated dividing it were published : Part I is represented by the *De Augmentis*, an enlargement of *The Advancement of Learning*, already published in English, which was intended to describe what had been done and what remained to be done in the various sciences : Part II, mainly by the *Novum Organum*, the greatest of Bacon's philosophical works, describing the new method, but incompletely : Part III, by the *Historia Naturalis* and by scattered and fragmentary

¹ *Essays Speculative and Political*, p. 157.

Latin works, among them the *Sylva Sylvarum*, to which the *New Atlantis* may be regarded as an appendage: Parts IV and V, only by slight prefaces in Latin: of Part VI, *Philosophia Secunda, sive Scientia Activa*, he says, 'I have given up all hope, but it may be that the ages and posterity will make it flourish.'¹

If Bacon did not discover a new method, it remains true that by the eloquent and inspiring language in which he laid down the vital importance of experiment and of the study of things instead of words, and by the noble conception he made current of what science might accomplish if pursued with enthusiasm and promoted by combined effort, he gave an incalculable stimulus to the progress of thought and experiment in England and in Europe.

III. BACON: ENGLISH WRITINGS

Apart from his correspondence and from his technical writings on law, Bacon exercised his gifts as a writer in three main fields: in his *Essays*, in his philosophical works, represented in English by *The Advancement of Learning*, and in his *History of Henry VII.*

The *Essays* have won him a place apart, and are the source of his fame with the world at large. They introduce a new form of composition into English literature, which was destined to have a varied and fruitful development. They are also, in a sense, a record of Bacon's outlook on the world throughout the years of his active life. The slim volume of ten essays, published in 1597, grew to thirty-eight in the edition of 1612, and to fifty-eight in the final edition of 1625, and many of the essays were amplified as time went on. Though they seem to take their title from Montaigne's *Essais*, published in 1580, they have little in common with them, except that both books consist of notes on life and human nature by a man of the world. They are 'Certain brief

¹ Fowler, *Novum Organum*, pp. 6 ff.

notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called *Essays*. The word is late, but the thing is ancient. For Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if one mark them well, are but *Essays*, that is dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of Epistles.'¹ Dr. Abbott² brings them into relation with the *Antitheta*, or 'Opposite Maxims', described in *De Augmentis* VI. 3,—'commonplaces' contracted 'into certain acute and concise sentences, to be as skeins or bottoms of thread which may be unwinded at large when they are wanted'. They are much more concentrated and concise than Montaigne's *Essais*. The charm of Montaigne is that of shrewd but inconsequent comments on men and things set out at leisure by a humane and open-eyed observer. Bacon's *Essays* represent rather the reflections of a politic player of the game of life summed up in short, pregnant sayings that strike the imagination and cling to the memory. The effect of the one is a diffused humanity, of the other an insight into human nature, pointed with a consummate mastery of single words and phrases. If we try to find in them the history of Bacon's inner life we are disappointed. The *Essays* are naturally affected by the events of the time and reflect its outward features: the Buildings and Gardens are in the grand manner of the great nobles: the Masks are such as Bacon, always in debt, was cheerfully able to produce in order to gratify the King's Favourite: the kingdoms and the politics are those of his own or of the Græco-Roman world. His reflections on public policy take the colour of his age. They have something of the hardness and disregard of moral considerations which Machiavelli did much to make current in the century following the publication of his *Il Principe*. To Bacon, as to the Italian, life is very much a question of Fortuna and of Virtù, the power which lies in skill and sheer ability unfettered by morals. But, though many essays may be suggested by Bacon's experience, they

¹ Dedication to Prince Henry.

² *Francis Bacon*, p. 436.

contain little personal revelation ; they are for the most part detached and impersonal, and there is nothing in them to mark the tragedy of his life.

The two books of *The Advancement of Learning* were the first contribution made by Bacon on a large scale to his great philosophical enterprise. This and the *New Atlantis* give his view of the achievements and defects of learning in the past, and of the way in which organized effort may supply the gap. If the *New Atlantis* did not directly originate the Royal Society, it helped at least to create the atmosphere in which that great institution took its birth. It combines the charm of narrative with lucid exposition of an ideal of co-operation in scientific work which should transcend the bounds of individual or national life.

The *History of Henry VII*, begun very soon after Bacon was released from the Tower in 1621 and completed in a few months, is a great achievement. Like the *Essays* it marks a new departure in English literature, for in it we pass at once from the region of mere chronicle to the modern conception of history. The masterly lines on which the character of Henry is drawn and the clear presentment of the moving forces and personalities of the time give it a high place both as history and as literature.

The qualities of Bacon's English style vary with his works, but in all there is unmistakable distinction and force. In passages where the final edition of the *Essays* is enlarged beyond the earliest draft it will be found (e. g. in the essay *Of Kingdoms and Estates*) that not only is the subject more fully illustrated, but that, while the general tone is unchanged, the sentences have acquired an ampler sweep and a richer cadence. They have lost something of the severe conciseness of their first form, but still retain their earlier characteristics—the appeal to the Bible and to classical literature, the sure touch of the man of affairs familiar with the springs of policy and personal ambition, the terse phrasing and lively images which drive the meaning

home. Two qualities alone may here be touched on : his simplicity and directness of approach, and the fine imagination which illuminates a simple thought till it is transfigured with a new meaning. The essay *Of Great Place* begins at once, 'Men in great place are thrice servants' : could anything be more arresting ? In the essay *Of Truth* he starts with the light of Creation and then, 'First he breathed light upon the face of the matter or chaos ; then he breathed light into the face of man ; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen' : and then, as though the heavenly light had suggested to him the answering movement of the spheres, he concludes a little further on : 'Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.' It is in such noble prose as this, rather than in his metrical versions of the Psalms, that Bacon the poet is discovered.

The Advancement of Learning has much in common with the *Essays* : like them it shows in its classical and biblical allusions how careful a use Bacon made of his commonplace book. Here and there the writing is relieved now by vivid images, and again by more homely sentences which appeal to the plain man. 'The true religion is built upon the rock ; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time.' 'But it is in life as it is in ways, the shortest way is commonly the foulest, and surely the fairer way is not round about.' 'This great building of the world had never through-lights made in it till the age of us and our fathers.' Such passages come very near the style of the *Essays*, but the general structure is on a larger scale and in a more formal manner. The writing gets its dignity and colour from the elevation of thought, the wealth of illustration, and the effective way in which the argument at each stage closes with a brief sentence summing up the sense, and often enforced by a quotation from the Latin of the Classics or of the Vulgate, or more rarely from some Italian writer. The

passages quoted above show Bacon's command of concentrated and simple English, but his subject naturally lends itself to the use of purely Latin words, some of which, 'coartation', 'adeption', 'redargution', have failed to establish themselves in the language. But such phrases as 'copulate and conjoined and collegiate' in the essay on Custom show what weighty use he can make of Latin compounds. The music of his rhythm is in general of a more subtle kind, showing a firm control of the disciplined sound of words, and the ordered balance of clauses.

In the *History of Henry VII*, one of the last products of Bacon's genius, his forcible phrasing is at its best. There is the same clearness of thought and wealth of ideas, combined with a vivid command of language and concise expression. 'Whereupon the king gave him his pardon, but either willing to leave a cloud upon him or the better to make him feel his grace, produced him openly to plead his pardon. This wrought in the Earl, as in a haughty stomach it useth to do. For the ignominy printed deeper than the grace.' Here is no failure of force in old age: words and rhythm fit the thought aright and make it tell.

There is something at once monumental and humane in the closing words of the *History*:

'He was born at Pembroke Castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead in the monument of his tomb than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.'

The man of broken fortune who could write with this serene command in the hour of adversity had rare gifts of character and style, which may weigh against the failings of the ambitious spirit in which a noble ideal of learning and science was so inextricably blended with the instinct and the arts of self-advancement.

BACON'S LIFE

- 1561. Francis Bacon born at York House, London (22 January).
- 1573-5. At Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1576. Member of Gray's Inn.
- 1577-9. In France in the suite of the English Ambassador. Returns on the death of his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon.
- 1582. Admitted as utter barrister.
- 1584. Enters Parliament: elected for Melcombe Regis (1584), for Taunton (1586), for Liverpool (1588), for Middlesex (1593), for Ipswich (1597), for Ipswich and St. Albans (1601 and 1604), for Ipswich, St. Albans, and Cambridge University (1614).
- 1592. *Discourse in the Praise of his Sovereign.*
- 1594. First appearance as a pleader in court.
- 1597. *Essays* published.
- 1601. Trial of Essex and Southampton. Draws up *A Declaration of the Practises and Treasons of Robert, late Earl of Essex.*
- 1603. Knighted by James I.
- 1604. Appointed King's Counsel.
- 1605. *The Advancement of Learning.*
- 1606. Marries Alice Barnham.
- 1607. Made Solicitor-General.
- 1608. Succeeds to the Clerkship of the Star Chamber.
- 1612. *Essays* (second edition).
- 1613. Made Attorney-General.
- 1616. Made Privy Councillor.
- 1617. Made Lord Keeper.
- 1618. Made Lord Chancellor (4 January). Created Baron Verulam (9 July).
- 1620. *Novum Organum* published (October).
- 1621. Created Viscount St. Alban (27 January). Sentenced by the House of Lords (3 May).
- 1622. *History of Henry VII* published.
- 1623. *De Augmentis Scientiarum libri IX.*
- 1624. *Apophthegms New and Old.*
- 1625. *Essays* (third edition).
- 1626. Dies at Highgate (9 April).
- 1627. *Sylva Sylvarum* published, containing *New Atlantis.*

From MACAULAY'S Essay

on BACON

(First published in *The Edinburgh Review*, July 1837.)

To give to the human mind a direction which it shall retain for ages is the rare prerogative of a few imperial spirits. It cannot, therefore, be uninteresting to inquire what was the moral and intellectual constitution which enabled Bacon to exercise so vast an influence on the world.

In the temper of Bacon—we speak of Bacon the philosopher, not of Bacon the lawyer and politician,—there was a singular union of audacity and sobriety. The promises which he made to mankind might, to a superficial reader, seem to resemble the rants which a great dramatist has put into the mouth of an Oriental conqueror half-crazed by good fortune and by violent passions.

He shall have chariots easier than air,
Which I will have invented ; and thyself
That art the messenger shall ride before him,
On a horse cut out of an entire diamond,
That shall be made to go with golden wheels,
I know not how yet.

But Bacon performed what he promised. In truth, Fletcher would not have dared to make Arbaces promise, in his wildest fits of excitement, the tithe of what the Baconian philosophy has performed.

The true philosophical temperament may, we think, be described in four words, much hope, little faith ; a disposition to believe that anything, however extraordinary, may be done ; an indisposition to believe that anything extraordinary has been done. In these points the constitution

of Bacon's mind seems to us to have been absolutely perfect. He was at once the Mammon and the Surly of his friend Ben. Sir Epicure did not indulge in visions more magnificent and gigantic. Surly did not sift evidence with keeper and more sagacious incredulity.

Closely connected with this peculiarity of Bacon's temper was a striking peculiarity of his understanding. With great minuteness of observation, he had an amplitude of comprehension such as has never yet been vouchsafed to any other
 10 human being. The small fine mind of Labruyère had not a more delicate tact than the large intellect of Bacon. The Essays contain abundant proofs that no nice feature of character, no peculiarity in the ordering of a house, a garden, or a court-masque, could escape the notice of one whose mind was capable of taking in the whole world of knowledge. His understanding resembled the tent which the fairy Paribanou gave to Prince Ahmed. Fold it; and it seemed a toy for the hand of a lady. Spread it; and the armies of powerful Sultans might repose beneath its shade.

20 In keenness of observation he has been equalled, though perhaps never surpassed. But the largeness of his mind was all his own. The glance with which he surveyed the intellectual universe resembled that which the Archangel, from the golden threshold of heaven, darted down into the new creation.

Round he surveyed,—and well might, where he stood
 So high above the circling canopy
 Of night's extended shade,—from eastern point
 Of Libra, to the fleecy star which bears
 30 Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
 Beyond the horizon.

His knowledge differed from that of other men, as a terrestrial globe differs from an Atlas which contains a different country on every leaf. The towns and roads of England, France, and Germany are better laid down in the Atlas than

on the globe. But while we are looking at England we see nothing of France ; and while we are looking at France we see nothing of Germany. We may go to the Atlas to learn the bearings and distances of York and Bristol, or of Dresden and Prague. But it is useless if we want to know the bearings and distances of France and Martinique, or of England and Canada. On the globe we shall not find all the market towns in our own neighbourhood ; but we shall learn from it the comparative extent and the relative position of all the kingdoms of the earth. ‘ I have taken,’ said Bacon, in ¹⁰ a letter written when he was only thirty-one, to his uncle Lord Burleigh, ‘ I have taken all knowledge to be my province.’ In any other young man, indeed in any other man, this would have been a ridiculous flight of presumption. There have been thousands of better mathematicians, astronomers, chemists, physicians, botanists, mineralogists than Bacon. No man would go to Bacon’s works to learn any particular science or art, any more than he would go to a twelve-inch globe in order to find his way from Kennington turnpike to Clapham Common. The art which Bacon ²⁰ taught was the art of inventing arts. The knowledge in which Bacon excelled all men was a knowledge of the mutual relations of all departments of knowledge.

The mode in which he communicated his thoughts was peculiar to him. He had no touch of that disputatious temper which he often censured in his predecessors. He effected a vast intellectual revolution in opposition to a vast mass of prejudices ; yet he never engaged in any controversy : nay, we cannot at present recollect, in all his philosophical works, a single passage of a controversial character. ³⁰ All those works might with propriety have been put into the form which he adopted in the work entitled *Cogitata et visa* : ‘ Franciscus Baconus sic cogitavit.’ These are thoughts which have occurred to me : weigh them well : and take them or leave them.

Borgia said of the famous expedition of Charles the Eighth, that the French had conquered Italy, not with steel, but with chalk ; for that the only exploit which they had found necessary for the purpose of taking military occupation of any place had been to mark the doors of the houses where they meant to quarter. Bacon often quoted this saying, and loved to apply it to the victories of his own intellect.¹ His philosophy, he said, came as a guest, not as an enemy. She found no difficulty in gaining admittance,
10 without a contest, into every understanding fitted, by its structure and by its capacity, to receive her. In all this we think that he acted most judiciously ; first, because, as he has himself remarked, the difference between his school and other schools was a difference so fundamental that there was hardly any common ground on which a controversial battle could be fought ; and, secondly, because his mind, eminently observant, pre-eminently discursive and capacious, was, we conceive, neither formed by nature nor disciplined by habit for
20 dialectical combat.

Though Bacon did not arm his philosophy with the weapons of logic, he adorned her profusely with all the decorations of rhetoric. His eloquence, though not untainted with the vicious taste of his age, would alone have entitled him to a high rank in literature. He had a wonderful talent for packing thought close, and rendering it portable. In wit, if by wit be meant the power of perceiving analogies between things which appear to have nothing in common, he never had an equal, not even Cowley, not
30 even the author of *Hudibras*. Indeed, he possessed this faculty, or rather this faculty possessed him, to a morbid degree. When he abandoned himself to it without reserve, as he did in the *Sapientia Veterum*, and at the end of the second book of the *De Augmentis*, the feats which he per-

¹ *Novum Organum*, Lib. I. Aph. 35, and elsewhere.

formed were not merely admirable, but portentous, and almost shocking. On those occasions we marvel at him as clowns on a fair-day marvel at a juggler, and can hardly help thinking that the devil must be in him.

These, however, were freaks in which his ingenuity now and then wantoned, with scarcely any other object than to astonish and amuse. But it occasionally happened that, when he was engaged in grave and profound investigations, his wit obtained the mastery over all his other faculties, and led him into absurdities into which no dull man could 10 possibly have fallen. We will give the most striking instance which at present occurs to us. In the third book of the *De Augmentis* he tells us that there are some principles which are not peculiar to one science, but are common to several. That part of philosophy which concerns itself with these principles is, in his nomenclature, designated as *philosophia prima*. He then proceeds to mention some of the principles with which this *philosophia prima* is conversant. One of them is this. An infectious disease is more likely to be communicated while it is in progress than when it has 20 reached its height. This, says he, is true in medicine. It is also true in morals; for we see that the example of very abandoned men injures public morality less than the example of men in whom vice has not yet extinguished all good qualities. Again, he tells us that in music a discord ending in a concord is agreeable, and that the same thing may be noted in the affections. Once more, he tells us that in physics the energy with which a principle acts is often increased by the antiperistasis of its opposite; and that it is the same in the contests of factions. If the making 30 of ingenious and sparkling similitudes like these be indeed the *philosophia prima*, we are quite sure that the greatest philosophical work of the nineteenth century is Mr. Moore's *Lalla Rookh*. The similitudes which we have cited are very happy similitudes. But that a man like Bacon should have

taken them for more, that he should have thought the discovery of such resemblances as these an important part of philosophy, has always appeared to us one of the most singular facts in the history of letters.

The truth is that his mind was wonderfully quick in perceiving analogies of all sorts. But, like several eminent men whom we could name, both living and dead, he sometimes appeared strangely deficient in the power of distinguishing rational from fanciful analogies, analogies which
10 are arguments from analogies which are mere illustrations, analogies like that which Bishop Butler so ably pointed out, between natural and revealed religion, from analogies like that which Addison discovered, between the series of Grecian gods carved by Phidias and the series of English kings painted by Kneller. This want of discrimination has led to many strange political speculations. Sir William Temple deduced a theory of government from the properties of the pyramid. Mr. Southey's whole system of finance is grounded on the phenomena of evaporation and rain. In
20 theology, this perverted ingenuity has made still wilder work. From the time of Irenaeus and Origen down to the present day, there has not been a single generation in which great divines have not been led into the most absurd expositions of Scripture, by mere incapacity to distinguish analogies proper, to use the scholastic phrase, from analogies metaphorical.¹ It is curious that Bacon has himself mentioned this very kind of delusion among the *idola specus*; and has mentioned it in language which, we are inclined to think, shows that he knew himself to be subject to it. It is the
30 vice, he tells us, of subtle minds to attach too much importance to slight distinctions; it is the vice, on the other hand, of high and discursive intellects to attach too much importance to slight resemblances; and he adds that, when this

¹ See some interesting remarks on this subject in Bishop Berkeley's *Minute Philosopher*, Dialogus IV.

last propensity is indulged to excess, it leads men to catch at shadows instead of substances.¹

Yet we cannot wish that Bacon's wit had been less luxuriant. For, to say nothing of the pleasure which it affords, it was in the vast majority of cases employed for the purpose of making obscure truth plain, of making repulsive truth attractive, of fixing in the mind for ever truth which might otherwise have left but a transient impression.

The poetical faculty was powerful in Bacon's mind, but 10 not, like his wit, so powerful as occasionally to usurp the place of his reason, and to tyrannize over the whole man. No imagination was ever at once so strong and so thoroughly subjugated. It never stirred but at a signal from good sense. It stopped at the first check from good sense. Yet, though disciplined to such obedience, it gave noble proofs of its vigour. In truth, much of Bacon's life was passed in a visionary world, amidst things as strange as any that are described in the Arabian Tales, or in those romances on which the curate and barber of Don Quixote's village per- 20 formed so cruel an *auto-da-fé*, amidst buildings more sumptuous than the palace of Aladdin, fountains more wonderful than the golden water of Parizade, conveyances more rapid than the hippogryph of Ruggiero, arms more formidable than the lance of Astolfo, remedies more efficacious than the balsam of Fierabras. Yet in his magnificent day-dreams there was nothing wild, nothing but what sober reason sanctioned. He knew that all the secrets feigned by poets to have been written in the books of enchanters are worth- 30 less when compared with the mighty secrets which are really written in the book of nature, and which, with time and patience, will be read there. He knew that all the wonders wrought by all the talismans in fable were trifles when compared to the wonders which might reasonably be ex-

¹ *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1. Aph. 55.

pected from the philosophy of *fruit*, and that, if his words sank deep into the minds of men, they would produce effects such as superstition had never ascribed to the incantations of Merlin and Michael Scott. It was here that he loved to let his imagination loose. He loved to picture to himself the world as it would be when his philosophy should, in his own noble phrase, 'have enlarged the bounds of human empire'.¹ We might refer to many instances. But we will content ourselves with the strongest, the description of the House
10 of Solomon in the *New Atlantis*. By most of Bacon's contemporaries, and by some people of our time, this remarkable passage would, we doubt not, be considered as an ingenious rodomontade, a counterpart to the adventures of Sinbad or Baron Munchausen. The truth is, that there is not to be found in any human composition a passage more eminently distinguished by profound and serene wisdom. The boldness and originality of the fiction is far less wonderful than the nice discernment which carefully excluded from
20 that long list of prodigies everything that can be pronounced impossible, everything that can be proved to lie beyond the mighty magic of induction and time. Already some parts, and not the least startling parts, of this glorious prophecy have been accomplished, even according to the letter; and the whole, construed according to the spirit, is daily accomplishing all around us.

One of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of Bacon's mind is the order in which its powers expanded themselves. With him the fruit came first and remained till the last; the blossoms did not appear till late. In
30 general, the development of the fancy is to the development of the judgement what the growth of a girl is to the growth of a boy. The fancy attains at an earlier period to the perfection of its beauty, its power, and its fruitfulness; and, as it is first to ripen, it is also first to fade. It has

¹ *New Atlantis*.

generally lost something of its bloom and freshness before the sterner faculties have reached maturity; and is commonly withered and barren while those faculties still retain all their energy. It rarely happens that the fancy and the judgement grow together. It happens still more rarely that the judgement grows faster than the fancy. This seems, however, to have been the case with Bacon. His boyhood and youth appear to have been singularly sedate. His gigantic scheme of philosophical reform is said by some writers to have been planned before he was fifteen, and was 10 undoubtedly planned while he was still young. He observed as vigilantly, meditated as deeply, and judged as temperately when he gave his first work to the world as at the close of his long career. But in eloquence, in sweetness and variety of expression, and in richness of illustration, his later writings are far superior to those of his youth. In this respect the history of his mind bears some resemblance to the history of the mind of Burke. The treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful, though written on a subject which the coldest metaphysician could hardly treat without being 20 occasionally betrayed into florid writing, is the most unadorned of all Burke's works. It appeared when he was twenty-five or twenty-six. When, at forty, he wrote the *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents*, his reason and his judgement had reached their full maturity; but his eloquence was still in its splendid dawn. At fifty, his rhetoric was quite as rich as good taste would permit; and when he died, at almost seventy, it had become ungracefully gorgeous. In his youth he wrote on the emotions produced by mountains and cascades, by the masterpieces of painting 30 and sculpture, by the faces and necks of beautiful women, in the style of a Parliamentary report. In his old age he discussed treaties and tariffs in the most fervid and brilliant language of romance. It is strange that the *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, and the *Letter to a Noble Lord*, should

be the productions of one man. But it is far more strange that the *Essay* should have been a production of his youth, and the *Letter* of his old age.

We will give very short specimens of Bacon's two styles. In 1597, he wrote thus : ' Crafty men contemn studies ; simple men admire them : and wise men use them ; for they teach not their own use : that is a wisdom without them, and won by observation. Read not to contradict, nor to believe, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be
10 tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, he had need have a great memory ; if he confer little, have a present wit ; and if he read little, have much cunning to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise, poets witty, the mathematics subtle, natural philosophy deep, morals grave, logic and rhetoric able to contend.' It will hardly be disputed that this is a passage to be ' chewed and digested '. We do not believe that
20 Thucydides himself has anywhere compressed so much thought into so small a space.

In the additions which Bacon afterwards made to the *Essays*, there is nothing superior in truth or weight to what we have quoted. But his style was constantly becoming richer and softer. The following passage, first published in 1625, will show the extent of the change ; ' Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament ; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction and the clearer evidence of God's favour. Yet, even in the
30 Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols ; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes ; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and

embroideries it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground. Judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed ; for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.'

It is by the *Essays* that Bacon is best known to the multitude. The *Novum Organum* and the *De Augmentis* are much talked of, but little read. They have produced 10 indeed a vast effect on the opinions of mankind ; but they have produced it through the operation of intermediate agents. They have moved the intellects which have moved the world. It is in the *Essays* alone that the mind of Bacon is brought into immediate contact with the minds of ordinary readers. There he opens an exoteric school, and talks to plain men, in language which everybody understands, about things in which everybody is interested. He has thus enabled those who must otherwise have taken his merits on trust to judge for themselves ; and the great body of 20 readers have, during several generations, acknowledged that the man who has treated with such consummate ability questions with which they are familiar may well be supposed to deserve all the praise bestowed on him by those who have sat in his inner school.

Without any disparagement to the admirable treatise, *De Augmentis*, we must say that, in our judgement, Bacon's greatest performance is the first book of the *Novum Organum*. All the peculiarities of his extraordinary mind are found there in the highest perfection. Many of the aphorisms, 30 but particularly those in which he gives examples of the influence of the *idola*, show a nicety of observation that has never been surpassed. Every part of the book blazes with wit, but with wit which is employed only to illustrate and decorate truth. No book ever made so great a revolu-

tion in the mode of thinking, overthrew so many prejudices, introduced so many new opinions. Yet no book was ever written in a less contentious spirit. It truly conquers with chalk and not with steel. Proposition after proposition enters into the mind, is received not as an invader, but as a welcome friend, and, though previously unknown, becomes at once domesticated. But what we admire most is the vast capacity of that intellect which, without effort, takes in at once all the domains of science, all the past, the present,
10 and the future, all the errors of two thousand years, all the encouraging signs of the passing times, all the bright hopes of the coming age. Cowley, who was among the most ardent, and not among the least discerning followers of the new philosophy, has, in one of his finest poems, compared Bacon to Moses standing on Mount Pisgah. It is to Bacon, we think, as he appears in the first book of the *Novum Organum*, that the comparison applies with peculiar felicity. There we see the great Lawgiver looking round from his lonely elevation on an infinite expanse ; behind him a wil-
20 derness of dreary sands and bitter waters in which successive generations have sojourned, always moving, yet never advancing, reaping no harvest, and building no abiding city ; before him a goodly land, a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey. While the multitude below saw only the flat sterile desert in which they had so long wandered, bounded on every side by a near horizon, or diversified only by some deceitful mirage, he was gazing from a far higher stand on a far lovelier country, following with his eye the long course of fertilizing rivers, through ample pastures,
30 and under the bridges of great capitals, measuring the distances of marts and havens, and portioning out all those wealthy regions from Dan to Beersheba.

It is painful to turn back from contemplating Bacon's philosophy to contemplate his life. Yet without so turning back it is impossible fairly to estimate his powers. He left

the University at an earlier age than that at which most people repair thither. While yet a boy he was plunged into the midst of diplomatic business. Thence he passed to the study of a vast technical system of law, and worked his way up through a succession of laborious offices to the highest post in his profession. In the meantime he took an active part in every Parliament ; he was an adviser to the Crown : he paid court with the greatest assiduity and address to all whose favour was likely to be of use to him ; he lived much in society ; he noticed the slightest peculiarities of character 10 and the slightest changes of fashion. Scarcely any man had led a more stirring life than that which Bacon led from sixteen to sixty. Scarcely any man has been better entitled to be called a thorough man of the world. The founding of a new philosophy, the imparting of a new direction to the minds of speculators, this was the amusement of his leisure, the work of hours occasionally stolen from the Woolsack and the Council Board. This consideration, while it increases the admiration with which we regard his intellect, increases also our regret that such an intellect should so 20 often have been unworthily employed. He well knew the better course, and had, at one time, resolved to pursue it. ' I confess ', said he in a letter written when he was still young, ' that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends.' Had his civil ends continued to be moderate, he would have been, not only the Moses, but the Joshua of philosophy. He would have fulfilled a large part of his own magnificent predictions. He would have led his followers, not only to the verge, but into the heart of the promised land. He would not merely have pointed out, 30 but would have divided the spoil. Above all, he would have left, not only a great, but a spotless name. Mankind would then have been able to esteem their illustrious benefactor. We should not then be compelled to regard his character with mingled contempt and admiration, with

mingled aversion and gratitude. We should not then regret that there should be so many proofs of the narrowness and selfishness of a heart, the benevolence of which was yet large enough to take in all races and all ages. We should not then have to blush for the disingenuousness of the most devoted worshipper of speculative truth, for the servility of the boldest champion of intellectual freedom. We should not then have seen the same man at one time far in the van, and at another time far in the rear of his generation. We
 10 should not then be forced to own that he who first treated legislation as a science was among the last Englishmen who used the rack, that he who first summoned philosophers to the great work of interpreting nature was among the last Englishmen who sold justice. And we should conclude our survey of a life placidly, honourably, beneficently passed, 'in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries,'¹ with feelings very different from those with which we now turn away from the chequered spectacle of so much glory and so much
 20 shame.

From S. R. GARDINER'S Article
 on BACON

(In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885.)

At some time, probably not later than July 1591, Bacon made the acquaintance of the young Earl of Essex. In this way began the first of Bacon's so-called friendships. That the earl soon became warmly attached to Bacon is beyond doubt. The intelligent, but impulsive and passionate nobleman of twenty-three found in the cool and wary adviser, who was in years his senior, those qualities so different from his own which were likely to rivet his affection. It was

¹ From a Letter of Bacon to Lord Burleigh.

Bacon's misfortune that he never passed through the stage of admiration which goes far to develop a complete character. The author of the 'Letter of Advice' knew himself to be capable of giving lessons in politics to Burghley, and, if he did not expect intellectual assistance from Essex, he failed to perceive that the young nobleman's generosity of temper was at least as admirable as any power of brain could possibly be. In his intercourse with men there was none of that intellectual give-and-take which is the foundation of the highest friendship. What he gave was advice, the best that ¹⁰ he had at his disposal. What he hoped to receive, as he looked back upon the past after fourteen years, may be given in his own words: 'I held at that time', he wrote, 'my lord to be the fittest instrument to do good to the state; and therefore I applied myself to him in a manner which I think happeneth rarely among men.' In 1596 he put it in another way, in asking Essex 'to look about, even jealously a little if you will, and to consider whether I have not reason to think that your fortune comprehendeth mine'.¹ It is not necessary to suppose that Bacon meant to refer merely to ²⁰ his personal fortune. That would no doubt be included, but the allusion must in fairness be understood to imply that he looked to Essex to carry through to success all that Bacon was, the political reformer as well as the aspirant after promotion. . . .

The year 1596 marks the highest point in the life of Essex. In the capture of Cadiz he acquitted himself well in every respect. On his return home he showed himself captious and jealous of his fellow commanders, whilst the favour which he acquired in the eyes of soldiers and sailors might ³⁰ easily make him a dangerous man to a queen who had no standing army on which to rely. It was to this latter point especially that Bacon applied himself in a letter of advice written to Essex on 4 Oct., a letter in which Bacon uninten-

¹ Spedding, ii. 40; see also Abbott's *Bacon and Essex*, 36.

tionally displays the worst side of his character as fully as he did afterwards in the ' *Commentarius Solutus* ' of 1608. At the bottom the advice given is thoroughly sound. Essex is to convince the queen that he is not a dangerous person by avoiding further connection with military enterprises, and by shunning all suspicion of popularity, that is to say, of courting the people with the object of obtaining an independent position in opposition to the government. All this, however, is fenced about with recommendations to use a
10 variety of petty tricks, to make agreeable speeches, and to appear otherwise than he is. No doubt the character of Elizabeth has to bear much of the blame for the possibility that such advice could be given, but Bacon cannot be altogether cleared. Firm as a rock on the principles on which he acted, he had learned early and too well the lesson that it was only by personal flattery and petty hypocrisies that he could hope to accomplish his ends.

It was at this time that Bacon was preparing for publication the shrewd observations on men and affairs which
20 appeared under the name of the ' *Essays* '. The dedication to his brother Anthony in the first edition is dated 30 Jan. 1597, and a copy was sold on 8 Feb. One passage has a special pathos in it : ' There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.' In his letter of advice Bacon had written to Essex that ' your fortune comprehendeth mine '. In the ' *Essays* ' he shows his belief that the obligation of friendship ought to be mutual, though it looks also as if he were longing for a friend
30 who might give him counsel as well as receive it. If he had this feeling, it would explain his dedication to his brother instead of the earl better than other reasons which have been suggested. His relations with his brother seem to have come nearer to his ideal of friendship than anything which he found elsewhere. . . .

In a letter to Essex of 20 July 1600 Bacon used words which may be taken as expressing his innermost thoughts on his relation to Essex: 'I desire your lordship', he wrote, 'also to think that though I confess I love some things much better than I love your lordship, as the queen's service, her quiet and contentment, her honour, her favour, the good of my country, and the like, yet I love few persons better than yourself, both for gratitude's sake and for your own virtues, which cannot hurt but by accident or abuse.'

Before long Bacon was called on to weigh one against the 10 other his obligations to the queen and the earl. As months passed on without bringing with them a restoration to favour, the discontent of Essex took the form of wild projects, ultimately settling down into a determination to make himself master of the court by violence, to bring to justice his enemies amongst the queen's ministers, and to substitute for them himself and his supporters. On 8 February 1601, having reason to suppose that his purpose was known, he was persuaded by his followers to betake himself to the city with some two hundred armed men at his heels, and to 20 call on the citizens to rally round him. Failing to gain support he returned to Essex House, and was soon a prisoner in the hands of the government. On 11 February Bacon was appointed among others to investigate the causes of the sudden revolt, and on the 18th information was obtained which brought to light the earl's previous treasonable intrigues. On the 19th Essex was brought up for trial.

In obtaining the conviction which followed, Bacon was most serviceable. He called back the attention of the court from Coke's digressions, and he fixed upon Essex the re- 30 sponsibility for his actions, arguing that they afforded evidence of an intention to collect an armed force, and that for 'armed petitioners' to present petitions 'must needs bring loss of liberty to the prince', and was therefore treasonable.

To Bacon's conduct on this occasion exception has been

taken on two grounds. In the first place, it has been said that he ought not to have appeared against his benefactor at all. That the course which he took indicates poverty of moral feeling cannot be denied. Yet our sentiment on the precedence of personal over political ties is based upon our increased sense of political security, and is hardly applicable to a state of affairs in which anarchy, with all its attendant miseries, would indubitably follow on the violent overthrow of the queen's right to select her ministers, even if her person
10 continued for a time to be outwardly respected; and it is, at all events, one which Bacon studiously renounced from the very beginning of his connection with Essex. In the second place it has been alleged that Bacon sinned in charging Essex with a consistent purpose of treason which was foreign to his nature. It is no doubt true that Essex never did anything consistently, and that an analysis of character would spare his heart at the expense of his head. It does not, however, follow that Bacon went deliberately wrong. On the day of the trial he
20 had only very recently become acquainted with the earl's very questionable proceedings in Ireland, and it was only in consonance with the weak side of his intellect to adopt a compact theory rather than one which left room for vagueness and uncertainty. As was afterwards the case in the opinion which he formed of Raleigh's guilt in the Guiana voyage, he left out of sight those tentative and shadowy intentions which had no place in his own mental constitution. At all events, whatever the character of Essex may have been, his actions were none the less dangerous to the
30 state. A government without the protection of an armed force was liable to be overturned by a man who, like Essex, was the darling of the military class which was at that time forming, without that tie of discipline which, in standing armies, counterbalances the tendency of military men to use force rather than persuasion. The new form of danger

¹ Abbott, *Bacon and Essex*, 194-242.

which had succeeded to the danger from a feudal nobility lent weight to the opinion to which Bacon gave expression in his attack on Essex : ' You, my lord,' he said, ' should know that though princes give their subjects cause of discontent, though they take away the honours they have heaped upon them, though they bring them to a lower estate than they raised them from, yet ought they not to be so forgetful of their allegiance that they should enter into any undutiful act, much less upon rebellion, as you, my lord, have done.' To Bacon the maintenance of the authority of the state was ¹⁰ a sacred work, and in the sixteenth century the authority of the queen was the equivalent of the authority of the state.

The death of Elizabeth on 24 March 1603 opened a new prospect to Bacon, which might be turned to account if he could gain the ear of James. At first, however, his hope of usefulness was rather discouraged by the change. He was indeed continued as one of the king's learned counsel, and on 23 July was knighted at the same time as three hundred others ; but neither Coke nor Cecil was likely to help him ²⁰ to that familiarity of access to James which he had long enjoyed at Elizabeth's court. It was probably in these days of expectancy that he wrote the 'Apology' concerning the late Earl of Essex, of which the earliest known printed copy bears the date of 1604. During the same period, besides a slight sketch of a proem to that great work on the interpretation of nature which was never quite out of his mind, he dedicated to James a paper on the mode of carrying out the union between Scotland and England which they both desired, and another on the pacification and edification of ³⁰ the church of England, in which he once more restated those comprehensive and tolerant principles which animated his former treatise on the same subject. James was to Bacon, at this stage of his career, very much what Essex had been before, a man powerful for carrying out Bacon's plans ; but with this difference, that he was himself the head and repre-

sentative of the state, and that in his case, therefore, there could never be that collision between personal and political claims to devotion which had brought about so tragic an ending to Bacon's relations with the favourite of Elizabeth. Unfortunately, though the natures of Essex and James were entirely dissimilar, they were equally incapable of serving Bacon's high purposes, the king's want of earnestness and unsteadiness of purpose being as fatal to his chance of proving a successful ruler as the inconsistent vehemence of the
10 earl. In weighing the terms of adulation in which Bacon continued to address him to the end, it must, however, be remembered that, if there was some hypocrisy, it was for the most part unconscious, and that Bacon's hopeful disposition was apt to fix as long as possible rather on the signs favourable to success than upon the indications of failure. In James's case the reasons for hoping better things than ultimately resulted from his reign were certainly not wanting. The mind of the new king was capable of taking in large ideas, and he had a dislike of intolerance which prom-
20 ised well, and which must have led Bacon to contrast him favourably with the average Englishman of the time, whose views were represented in the House of Commons.

An unhappy indication of the mode in which James was likely to deal with the ideas which he had in common with Bacon was given at the Hampton Court conference which opened on 14 January 1604, where the intention of introducing rational reforms in the church was smothered in an outbreak of temper, and was followed before long by a resolution to draw the bonds of conformity even more
30 tightly than in the days of Elizabeth.

To James's first parliament, which met on 19 March 1604, Bacon was returned for both Ipswich and St. Albans. He sat for the former. The possibility that his scheme of church reform might be to some extent carried out, was not quite at an end. Bacon, when he took his seat, might still

hope to do something in this direction, and might cherish even greater hopes in the direction of the union with Scotland. Yet it would be to misunderstand Bacon to associate him merely with the desire to pass particular reforms. Eager as he was to provide remedies for the disorders of his time, he was still more eager to avert that breach of sympathy between the king and the House of Commons which is now understood to have been the root of the miseries of the seventeenth century far more than any special tyrannical propensities of the Stuart kings. It was ¹⁰ this intuitive perception of the source of danger which raises Bacon to the first rank amongst statesmen, whilst, at the same time, his failure to recognise that it was as impossible to bring James and the House of Commons to work together, as it had been to bring Elizabeth and Essex to work together—a failure the causes of which lay in Bacon's moral as well as his intellectual nature—led to the great catastrophe of his misused life.

The session of 1604 gave Bacon many opportunities of exercising his reconciling powers. The commons wanted ²⁰ to obtain from the king the redress of grievances arising from feudal tenures, from purveyance, and other antiquated rights of the crown, without sufficiently acknowledging the necessity of providing a sufficient income for the fulfilment of the duties of government. On the other hand, James was anxious to press on the union with Scotland without fitting consideration of the prejudices of his new subjects. On all these points, as well as on certain questions of privilege which arose, Bacon had much to say, and what he did say was conciliatory in the best way, by suggesting plans which ³⁰ might carry out the most justifiable desires of both parties. When, however, the end of the session arrived on 7 July, Bacon had effected no reconciliation. The question of the union was referred to a joint committee of Scottish and English commissioners to be put in shape for a future parlia-

ment ; and the question of the grievances had been discussed with such acrimony, that, in dismissing the commons, the king gave vent to his feelings in a speech of mere scolding.

The breach thus accomplished was practically final : but it was not in Bacon's nature, perhaps not in the nature of any man, to acknowledge that the case was hopeless. His own political position was very similar to his scientific position. In both he had teaching to give which his own generation was incapable of comprehending. In both, therefore, all that he could really hope to accomplish was to expound his principles in such a way that future generations might act upon them. It is no wonder that from time to time he felt regret that he had not devoted himself to a scientific life, especially as he was himself unaware that he had not the qualifications of a scientific observer. It is no wonder either that, in addition to the attraction of worldly success, the great attraction of possibly averting the coming evil weighed with him in chaining him to the oar of political service. In so doing he no doubt under-estimated the obstacles caused by the commonplace industry of men like Coke and Cecil, and over-estimated the receptivity of James's mind. The fact is, that he stood to the English revolution with all its miseries as Turgot stood to the French revolution, and he was as distrustful as Turgot was of the domination of elected political assemblies. Turgot's stern independence of character, however, contrasts nobly with Bacon's suppleness ; but both Bacon and Turgot undertook a task in itself impossible, that of reconciling classes who already stood too far apart to be reconciled.

This reliance on management at the expense of truthfulness was Bacon's worst fault. It cannot, however, be said of him that if he defended James overmuch, he did not try his best to make James's policy other than it was. In a paper written at the end of September or the beginning

of October 1615, at the time when the council recommended the calling of another parliament, Bacon gave his opinion strongly, not only in the same direction, but in favour of the course, which he had always advised, of abandoning all attempts at bargaining. 'Let there be an utter silence,' he wrote, 'as of the king's part, of money or supply, or of the king's debts or wants; they are things too well known. And let not the king doubt but some honest man will, after they have sat awhile, fall upon them, though it proceed not from the king. Nay, I will presume further to say (as putting a case speculative, which in act and event I hold an impossibility), if subsidies should never be given nor spoken of in the next parliament, yet the meeting and parting of the king and his parliament with due conservation of the majesty and authority of the king, which heretofore hath suffered, and will suffer as long as money is made the mere object of the parliament, and without heats or contestations, or oppositions between him and his parliament, I hold to be a thing of invaluable consequence, both in reputation and towards the substance of future affairs.' If Bacon wished to see the king formally absolute, he wished him to be surrounded by the impalpable atmosphere of a sympathetic union with his people.

It was not entirely to James's discredit that he could not realise Bacon's ideal. One of the modes of winning favour recommended by Bacon in this paper is that of taking advantage of the good understanding between France and Spain, to 'give fire to our nation, and make them aspire to be again umpires in those wars; or, at least, to retrench and amuse the greatness of Spain for their own preservation.' Bacon could give this advice honestly because he had always advocated a stirring foreign policy, pushed even to warlike action, as a means of bringing king and people together. With all his powers he was an English politician; James, on the other hand, with all his faults,

was an international politician. To make war to advance his own greatness or the greatness of England was hateful to him. Unfortunately he was already deep in a negotiation for a marriage between his son and a Spanish infanta. Bacon's allusion to this is characteristic of the tenderness with which he handles the king's actions, and of the way in which he manages to spoil even the best advice by overmuch cleverness. James, he says, might frighten the commons into a grant of supply upon the opinion of some great offer
 10 for a marriage of the prince with Spain. 'Not', he proceeds, 'that I shall easily advise that that should be really effected; but I say the opinion of it may have singular use, both because it will easily be believed that the offer may be so great from that hand as may at once free the king's estate; and chiefly because it will be a notable attractive to the parliament, that hates the Spaniard, so to do for the king as his state may not force him to fall upon that condition.' How much higher would Bacon have stood with posterity if he had boldly spoken out the opinion which he indicated,
 20 instead of advocating such a poor trick as this!

On 7 January 1618 he became lord chancellor, and on 12 July he was raised to the peerage as Baron Verulam. During the whole of Elizabeth's reign no one had borne the title of lord chancellor, and no lord keeper had been made a peer.

Bacon was obliged mainly to content himself with judicial work. On 8 June 1617, three months after he had taken his seat in chancery, he had cleared off all the arrears of business in that court. As far as we know, his
 30 justice was, on the whole, as exemplary as his energy. Not only were no complaints heard at the time, which may easily be accounted for, but in later years, when every man's mouth was opened against him, no successful attempt was made to reverse his decisions. . . .

Of his personal position he never felt more assured than

when parliament was opened. On 12 October 1620 he published the 'Novum Organum.' On 22 January 1621 he had kept his sixtieth birthday at York House, and received the homage of Ben Jonson as one

Whose even thread the fates spin round and full
Out of their choicest and their whitest wool.

On 27 January he was raised a step in the peerage, and became Viscount St. Albans. Nor had he reason to suspect that the new House of Commons, which met on 30 January, would be otherwise than friendly to him. He had long¹⁰ advocated the policy of which the commons approved; and he had always given his voice in favour of a good understanding between them and the king. Yet, for all that, a storm was gathering against him.

Naturally Bacon had made enemies. Coke, who was a member of this parliament, and was soon to appear as a very influential one, both hated and despised him. Cranfield, the master of the wards, who was also a member, must have discovered that Bacon looked down on him as a mere accountant, and consequently was as bitterly dis-²⁰posed towards him as Coke had always been. Taken alone the opposition of the practical commonplace official might not have led to much, but it had at its back a sentiment which was all the more dangerous, because it did not imply any personal dislike of Bacon himself amongst the members of the house. That sentiment was one of dissatisfaction with the government of which Bacon had made himself the instrument, not sufficiently pronounced to make the house wish to place itself in direct opposition to the king, but sufficiently strong to make it ill-disposed to one who,³⁰ like Bacon, had allowed his devotion to monarchical principles to be publicly known, whilst he had thrown a veil of secrecy over his disapproval of the policy of the actual monarch.

To this sentiment the strong feeling against the monopolies was certain to minister. The natural desire of finding some one to punish when things had gone wrong led men to search for victims. Mompesson and Michell were not of sufficient importance to satisfy this desire. Buckingham could not be touched without touching the king, and, besides, he expressed an ardent wish to join the commons in hunting down abuses. There remained the referees, who had certified that the monopolies were either good in
10 law or beneficial in practice, and of these referees Bacon was the most conspicuous. For a time there was a call, strongly supported by Coke and Cranfield, for bringing the referees to account ; but James stood firm, and the question of ministerial responsibility was shelved for the time.

If Bacon's conduct as a referee escaped inquiry, he was more exposed to attack than before. Those who wished to bring charges of any kind against him would know that they would have a favourable audience in the House of Commons, and probably also in the House of Lords. On
20 14 March Cranfield, who had led the attack upon the referees, complained of the court of chancery for the protection which it offered to insolvents, and Coke followed in the same strain. Before anything could be done to put the charge into shape, a certain Christopher Aubrey presented a petition to the commons in which the chancellor was directly charged with bribery. He was followed by Edward Egerton, who made much the same complaint. The peculiarity of these cases was that Bacon had decided against the persons who had given him money.

30 On 17 March the commons resolved to send the complaints before the lords for inquiry, without committing themselves on one side or the other. Bacon's own feeling during these days was one of assurance that the charges against him had been concocted by those who had failed to punish him as a referee. 'Your lordship', he wrote to

Buckingham, 'spoke of purgatory; I am now in it, but my mind is calm, for my fortune is not my felicity. I know I have clean hands and a clean heart, and I hope a clean house for friends or servants; but Job himself, or whoever was the justest judge, by such hunting for matters against him as hath been used against me, may for a time seem foul, especially in a time when greatness is the mark and accusation is the game. And if this be to be a chancellor, I think if the great seal lay upon Hounslow Heath nobody would take it up.'

10

Under the trial his health broke down. On the 18th he was unable to leave his house, and on the following day begged for time to reply to the accusations against him. Fresh charges were soon brought, amongst them that of Lady Wharton, who had given money directly into Bacon's hand and had received a crushing sentence almost immediately afterwards. That Bacon had taken the money as a bribe is most improbable, but he had certainly sinned against the rule which he laid down for himself, that though, according to the custom of the day, presents might be taken 20 from suitors, they should never be accepted while the suit was pending. The best explanation of his conduct is that, according to his usual habit of caring to do the right thing without regarding how it was done, he had satisfied himself with judging justly, and had been almost incredibly careless of the appearance of his conduct in the eyes of others. On 16 April Bacon, who was sufficiently recovered to leave his house, had an interview with the king. The memoranda of what he intended to say to James have been preserved. 'There be three causes of bribery', he wrote, 'charged or 30 supposed in a judge: the first, of bargain or contract for reward to pervert justice; the second, where the judge conceives the cause to be at an end by the information of the party or otherwise, and useth not such diligence as he ought to inquire of it; and the third, when the cause is

really ended, and it is *sine fraude*, without relation to any precedent promise.'

When he wrote these words he had not yet seen the charges against him in detail. He acknowledged that he might have done things falling under the second head. What he asked for was a fair trial. On the 20th he knew enough of the particulars of the charges to be aware that the case against him would be difficult to answer. Within a few hours a copy of the examinations taken in the House
10 of Lords reached him, and he then knew that defence was impossible. Though he might be certain that he had never taken a bribe from corrupt motives, he knew that he had done the very things which corrupt men do. He had taken money whilst cases were pending. On the 27th he made his formal submission to the lords, hoping that they would be content with depriving him of office. The lords, however, pressed for an answer to the charges. Bacon was again ill, and the answer brought by the lords' messengers was that he would make no defence, but wished to explain some
20 points. On the 30th the explanation was given. 'I do again confess', Bacon wrote at the end of his statement, 'that in the points charged upon me, although they should be taken as myself have declared them, there is a great deal of corruption and neglect, for which I am heartily and penitently sorry.' On 1 May the great seal was taken from him. As he was still too ill to attend in person, the sentence was passed on 3 May in his absence. He was to be fined 40,000*l.*, imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and disabled from sitting in parliament and from
30 coming within the verge of the court.

Bacon only remained for a few days in the Tower. On 20 September the king signed a warrant assigning his fine to trustees for his own use, and directing a pardon to be drawn which would protect him from all demands other than those arising out of his parliamentary sentence.

Bacon had more difficulty in procuring a relaxation of that part of the sentence which prohibited him from coming within twelve miles of the court. Buckingham wished to become the owner of York House, and it was not till, in the spring of 1622, Bacon consented to sell it to him, that the required permission was obtained.

Bacon was not a man who could allow himself to remain idle. As early as October 1621 he completed his 'History of Henry VII', which was published in the following year. Then he busied himself with the completion and translation into Latin of the 'Advancement of Learning', which appeared in October 1623 as 'De Augmentis Scientiarum'. To his former feelings towards the king was now added gratitude for having tempered the blow which had fallen on him, and his language was as flattering after his fall as it had been before. In March 1622 he offered to do what had long been on his heart, to draw up a digest of the law. If he wrote of the 'Instauratio' as his 'great work', it does not follow that he regarded political work as much inferior in importance. His correspondence shows how eagerly he desired to be employed in political matters again, and it is one of the most curious features of that correspondence that he never seems to have understood that the sentence passed on him was an insuperable bar to employment in the service of the state.

The return of Buckingham and the prince from Spain gave Bacon an opportunity of appearing on the side which was at the same time popular and courtly, and the support of which was also in harmony with his own lifelong convictions. In a speech which he drew up for the use of some member of the House of Commons in 1624, and in the 'Considerations touching a War with Spain', which he addressed to the prince, he took the course which satisfied his conscience, if it seemed also calculated to gain satisfaction for what ambition was left to him. In spite of all,

however, he remained a disappointed man. Even the provostship of Eton was refused him in 1623, and in 1625 he pressed the new king in vain for the grant of the full pardon which would enable him to take his seat in parliament. Charles and Buckingham no doubt regarded him as an importunate old man, whose advice they were even less likely to regard than James had been.

Nothing remained to Bacon but to devote himself to further work upon the 'Instauratio Magna'. Increasing
10 weakness of health, however, made every task difficult. At the end of March 1626, being near Highgate on a snowy day, he left his coach to collect snow with which he meant to stuff a fowl in order to observe the effect of cold on the preservation of its flesh. In so doing he caught a chill, and took refuge in Lord Arundel's house, where, on 9 April, he died of the disease which is now known as bronchitis. He was buried at St. Michael's Church, St. Albans.

'For my name and memory,' wrote Bacon in the will which he drew up on 19 December 1625, 'I leave it to men's
20 charitable speeches and to foreign nations and the next ages.' He surely never contemplated that his devotion to science would be held to be indirectly damaging to his character, and that writer after writer would regard his claim to be a prophet of scientific knowledge so super-eminent as to consign to oblivion his equally great claim as a prophet of political knowledge. As his contribution to science rests on his perception of the greatness and variety of nature, so his contribution to politics rests upon his perception of the complexity of human society. In politics,
30 as well as in science, he found himself too much in advance of the times to secure a following. Some men would have grown misanthropical, and would have abandoned the thankless task in despair. It was alike the strength and weakness of Bacon's character which prevented him from doing this. He must strive against such a disaster, must

seek help wherever it could be found, must speak fair words to those who had it in their power to assist him, must be patient beyond all ordinary patience, content if he could get but a little done of the great things which he designed, sometimes content if he could have the vaguest hope of being some day able to accomplish a little. As far as science was concerned, all this brought nothing dishonourable. In politics it was otherwise. Power to do good in politics was, according to the possibility of his day, inseparably connected with high place and the good things of the world, to the advantages of which Bacon was by no means insensible. If Bacon never lost sight of the higher object in the pursuit of the lower, if James was to him the only possible reconciler of sectional ambitions, as well as the dispenser of coronets and offices, it was not to be expected that those who watched his progress should be charitable enough to acknowledge these points in his favour. Bacon was too great a man to play other than a second-rate part in the age in which he lived, and he struggled hard, to the detriment of his own character as well as of his fame, to avoid the inevitable ¹⁰ consequence. ²⁰

PERSONAL ESTIMATES

By Ben Jonson

(From *Discoveries, made upon men and matter*, published 1641.)

ONE, though he be excellent and the chief, is not to be imitated alone. For never no imitator ever grew up to his author; likeness is always on this side truth. Yet there happened in my time one noble speaker who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language (where he could spare or pass by a jest) was nobly *ensorious*. No man ever spake more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less

emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of the own graces : his hearers could not cough, or look aside from him, without loss. He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end. . . .

My conceit of his person was never increased toward him by his place or honours. But I have, and do reverence him
 10 for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength : for *greatness* he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him ; as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest.

By Thomas Fuller

(From *The Church-History of Britain*, published 1655.)

NONE can character him to the life, save himself. He was *in parts* more than a man, who in any liberal profession
 20 might be whatsoever he would himself. A great honourer of ancient authors, yet a great deviser and practiser of new ways in learning. Privy Counsellor, as to King James, so to Nature itself, diving into many of her abstruse mysteries. New conclusions he would dig out with mattocks of gold and silver, not caring what his experience cost him, expending on the trials of Nature all and more than he got by the trials at the Bar, posterity being the better for his, though he the worse for his own dear experiments. He and his servants had all in common, the men never wanting what their master had, and thus what came flowing in unto

him was sent flying away from him, who in giving of rewards knew no bounds but the bottom of his own purse. Wherefore when King James heard that he had given ten pounds to an underkeeper by whom he had sent him a buck, the King said merrily, I and he shall both die Beggars, which was condemnable prodigality in a subject.

By William Rawley

(From *Resuscitatio, or Pieces hitherto sleeping of Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban. With his Lordship's Life. 1657.*)

HE was no plodder upon books ; though he read much, and that with great judgement, and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors. For he would ever interlace a moderate relaxation of his mind with his studies ; 10 as walking, or taking the air abroad in his coach, or some other befitting recreation. And yet he would lose no time ; inasmuch as upon his first and immediate return he would fall to reading again, and so suffer no moment of time to slip from him without some present improvement.

His meals were refectations of the ear as well as of the stomach : like the *Noctes Atticæ* or *Convivia Deipno-sophistarum*, wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind and understanding no less than in his body. And I have known some, of no mean parts, that have professed to make use of 20 their note-books, when they have risen from his table. In which conversations, and otherwise, he was no dashing man as some men are ; but ever a countenancer and fosterer of another man's parts. Neither was he one that would appropriate the speech wholly to himself, or delight to outvie others, but leave a liberty to the co-assessors to take their turns. Wherein he would draw a man on and allure him to speak upon such a subject as wherein he was peculiarly skilful and would delight to speak ; and for himself he contemned no man's observations, but would 30 light his torch at every man's candle.

His opinions and assertions were, for the most part, binding, and not contradicted by any ; rather like oracles than discourses. Which may be imputed, either to the well weighing of his sentence by the scales of truth and reason ; or else to the reverence and estimation wherein he was commonly had, that no man would contest with him. So that there was no argumentation, or *pro* and *con* (as they term it), at his table ; or if there chanced to be any, it was carried with much submission and moderation.

- 10 I have often observed, and so have other men of great account, that if he had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before, so that the author should find his own speech much amended, and yet the substance of it still retained : as if it had been natural to him to use good forms ; as Ovid spake of his faculty of versifying,

Et quod tentabam scribere, versus erat.

- When his office called him, as he was of the King's
20 Counsel Learned, to charge any offenders, either in criminals or capitals, he was never of an insulting or domineering nature over them, but always tender-hearted and carrying himself decently towards the parties (though it was his duty to charge them home) ; but yet as one that looked upon the example with the eye of severity, but upon the person with the eye of pity and compassion. And in Civil Business, as he was Councillor of Estate, he had the best way of advising ; not engaging his master in any precipitate or grievous courses, but in moderate and fair proceedings :
30 the king whom he served giving him this testimony, that he ever dealt in business *suavibus modis*, which was the way that was most according to his own heart.

Neither was he, in his time, less gracious with the subject than with his Sovereign. He was ever acceptable to the

House of Commons when he was a member thereof. Being the King's Attorney, and chosen to a place in Parliament, he was allowed and dispensed with to sit in the House, which was not permitted to other Attorneys.

And as he was a good servant to his master, being never in nineteen years' service (as himself averred) rebuked by the King for any thing relating to his Majesty, so he was a good master to his servants, and rewarded their long attendance with good places, freely, when they fell into his power ; which was the cause that so many young gentlemen of blood 10 and quality sought to list themselves in his retinue. And if he were abused by any of them in their places, it was only the error of the goodness of his nature, but the badges of their indiscretions and intemperances.

From COWLEY'S Ode

To the Royal Society

(Prefixed to Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, 1667.)

SOME few exalted spirits this latter age has shown,
That labour'd to assert the liberty

(From guardians, who were now usurpers grown)
Of this old minor still, captiv'd philosophy ;

But 'twas rebellion call'd to fight

For such a long oppressed right.

20

Bacon at last, a mighty man, arose,

Whom a wise King and Nature chose

Lord Chancellor of both their laws,

And boldly undertook the injur'd pupil's cause.

From Words, which are but pictures of the thought,
(Though we our thoughts from them perversely drew)

To Things, the mind's right object, he it brought,

Like foolish birds to painted grapes we flew ;

He sought and gather'd for our use the true. . . .

From these and all long errors of the way,
In which our wandering predecessors went,
And like th' old Hebrews many years did stray
 In deserts but of small extent,
Bacon, like Moses, led us forth at last,
 The barren wilderness he past,
 Did on the very border stand
 Of the blest promis'd land,

And from the mountain's top of his exalted wit
10 Saw it himself, and shew'd us it.

But life did never to one man allow
Time to discover worlds, and conquer too ;
Nor can so short a time sufficient be
To fathom the vast depths of Nature's sea :

 The work he did we ought to admire,
And were unjust if we should more require
From his few years, divided 'twixt th' excess
Of low affliction, and high happiness :
For who on things remote can fix his sight,
20 That 's always in a triumph, or a fight ?

Selections from
B A C O N'S
Writings

From the Discourse
IN THE PRAISE OF HIS SOVEREIGN

1592

(British Museum, Harleian MS. 6797; first printed 1734.)

No praise of magnanimity, nor of love, nor of knowledge, can intercept her praise that planteth and nourisheth magnanimity by her example, love by her person, and knowledge by the peace and serenity of her times; and if these rich pieces be so fair unset, what are they set, and set in all perfection?

Magnanimity no doubt consisteth in contempt of peril, in contempt of profit, and in meriting of the times wherein one liveth.

- 10 For contempt of peril, see a lady that cometh to a crown after the experience of some adverse fortune, which for the most part extenuateth the mind, and maketh it apprehensive of fears. No sooner she taketh the sceptre into her sacred hands, but she putteth on a resolution to make the greatest, the most important, the most dangerous [alteration] that can be in a state, the alteration of religion. This she doth, not after a Sovereignty established and continued by sundry years, when custom might have bred in her people a more absolute obedience, when trial of her servants might
- 20 have made her more assured whom to employ, when the reputation of her policy and virtue might have made her government redoubted; but at the very entrance of her reign, when she was green in authority, her servants scant known unto her, the adverse part not weakened, her own part not confirmed. Neither doth she reduce or reunite her realm to the religion of the states about her, that the

evil inclination of the subject might be countervailed by the good correspondence in foreign parts ; but contrariwise she introduceth a religion exterminated and persecuted both at home and abroad. Her proceeding herein is not by degrees and by stealth, but absolute and at once. Was she encouraged thereto by the strength she found in leagues and alliances with great and potent confederates ? No, but she found her realm in wars with her nearest and mightiest neighbours ; she stood single and alone, and in league only with one, that after the people of her nation had made ¹⁰ his wars, left her to make her own peace ; one that could never be by any solicitation moved to renew the treaties ; and one that since hath proceeded from doubtful terms of amity to the highest acts of hostility. Yet notwithstanding the opposition so great, the support so weak, the season so improper ; yet, I say, because it was a religion wherein she was nourished and brought up, a religion that freed her subjects from pretence of foreign powers, and indeed the true religion, she brought to pass this great work with success worthy so noble a resolution. See a Queen that, ²⁰ when a deep and secret conspiracy was plotted against her sacred person, practised by subtile instruments, embraced by violent and desperate humours, strengthened and bound by vows and sacraments, and the same was revealed unto her (and yet the nature of the affairs required further ripening before the apprehension of any of the parties) was content to put herself into the guard of the divine providence and her own prudence, to have some of the conspirators in her eyes, to suffer them to approach to her person, to take a petition of the hand that was conjured for her death ; and ³⁰ that with such majesty of countenance, such mildness and serenity of gesture, such art and impression of words, as had been sufficient to have repressed and bound the hand of a conspirator, if he had not been discovered. Lastly, see a Queen, that when her realm was to have been invaded

by an army the preparation whereof was like the travail of an elephant, the provisions [whereof] were infinite, the setting forth whereof was the terror and wonder of Europe ; it was not seen that her cheer, her fashion, her ordinary manner was anything altered ; not a cloud of that storm did appear in that countenance wherein peace doth ever shine ; but with excellent assurance and advised security she inspired her council, animated her nobility, redoubled the courage of her people ; still having this noble apprehension, not only that she would communicate her fortune
10 with them, but that it was she that would protect them, and not they her ; which she testified by no less demonstration than her presence in camp. Therefore that magnanimity that neither feareth greatness of alteration, nor the vows of conspirators, nor the power of the enemy, is more than heroical.

THE
ESSAYES
OR
COVNSELS,
CIVILL AND
MORALL,
OF
FRANCIS LO. VERVLAM,
VISCOVNT ST. ALBAN.

Newly enlarged.



LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND for
HANNA BARRET, and RICHARD
WHITAKER, and are to be sold
at the signe of the Kings head in
Pauls Church-yard. 1625.

DEDICATIONS

I. *Edition of 1597.*

To M. Anthony Bacon
his dear Brother.

LOVING and beloved Brother, I do now like some that have an orchard ill neighboured, that gather their fruit before it is ripe to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceits were going to print ; to labour the stay of them had been troublesome, and subject to interpretation ; to let them pass had been to adventure the wrong they might
 10 receive by untrue copies, or by some garnishment, which it might please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them. Therefore I held it best discretion to publish them myself as they passed long ago from my pen, without any further disgrace than the weakness of the Author. And as I did ever hold there might be as great a vanity in retiring and withdrawing men's conceits (except they be of some nature) from the world as in obtruding them ; so in these particulars I have played myself the inquisitor, and find
 20 nothing to my understanding in them contrary or infectious to the state of religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out because they will be like the late new halfpence, which though the silver were good, yet the pieces were small. But since they would not stay with their master, but would needs travel abroad, I have preferred them to you that are next myself, dedicating them, such as they are, to our love, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities

translated upon myself, that her Majesty might have the service of so active and able a mind, and I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies for which I am fittest ; so commend I you to the preservation of the divine Majesty. From my chamber at Gray's Inn, this 30 of January, 1597.

Your entire loving brother,

FRAN. BACON.

2. *Manuscript Dedication, 1610-12.*

(British Museum, Sloane MS. 4259, fol. 155.)

To the most high and excellent Prince
Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, 10
and Earl of Chester.

It may please your Highness

Having divided my life into the contemplative and active part, I am desirous to give his Majesty and your Highness of the fruits of both, simple though they be. To write just treatises requireth leisure in the writer, and leisure in the reader, and therefore are not so fit, neither in regard of your Highness's princely affairs, nor in regard of my continual services. Which is the cause that hath made me choose to write certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called *Essays* ; the word is late, but the thing is ancient. For Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if one mark them well, are but *Essays*,—that is dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of Epistles. These labours of mine I know cannot be worthy of your Highness, for what can be worthy of you ? But my hope is they may be as grains of salt, that will rather give you an appetite than offend you with satiety. And although they handle those things wherein both men's lives and their pens are most conversant, yet (what I have attained, I 30

know not) but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience, little in books, so as they are neither repetitions nor fancies. But howsoever I shall most humbly desire your Highness to accept them in gracious part, and to conceive that if I cannot rest but must show my dutiful and devoted affection to your Highness in these things which proceed from myself, I shall be much more ready to do it in performance of any your princely commandments. And so wishing your
 10 Highness all princely felicity, I rest

Your Highness's most humble Servant.

3. *Edition of 1612.*

To my Loving Brother
 Sir John Constable, Knight.

My last Essays I dedicated to my dear brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same nature : which if I myself shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the world will not, by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next ; in respect of bond both of
 20 near alliance, and of straight friendship and society, and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge myself beholding to you. For as my business found rest in my contemplations, so my contemplations ever found rest in your loving conference and judgement. So wishing you all good, I remain

Your loving brother and friend,

FRA. BACON.

4. *Edition of 1625.*

To the Right Honorable My Very Good Lord
 The Duke of Buckingham his Grace,
 Lord High Admiral of England.

EXCELLENT LORD,

Salomon says *A good name is as a precious ointment* ; and I assure myself, such will your Grace's name be with posterity. For your future and merit both have been eminent. And you have planted things that are like to last. I do now publish my *Essays* ; which of all my other works have been most current : for that, as it seems, they come ¹⁰ home to men's business and bosoms. I have enlarged them, both in number and weight ; so that they are indeed a new work. I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace to prefix your name before them, both in English and in Latin. For I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last. My *Instauration* I dedicated to the King : my *History of Henry the Seventh* (which I have now also translated into Latin), and my Portions of *Natural History*, to the Prince : and these I dedicate to your Grace ; ²⁰ being of the best fruits that by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your Grace's most obliged and
 faithful servant

FR. ST. ALBAN.

I. *Of Truth*

WHAT is truth ? said jesting Pilate ; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief ; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits, which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth ; nor again, that when it is found,
10 it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour ; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies ; where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets ; nor for advantage, as with the merchant ; but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell : this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masques, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half
20 so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves ? One of the fathers, in great severity, called
30 poesy *vinum daemonum*, because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and setteth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's

depraved judgements and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the lovemaking or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense ; the last was the light of reason ; and his sabbath work ever since is the illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of the matter or chaos ; then he breathed light into the face of man ; and 10 still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well : *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea : a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle and the adventures thereof below : but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth,* (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), *and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below :* so 20 always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business ; it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For 30 these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent ; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason why

the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge, saith he, *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much to say as that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man.* Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgements of God upon the generations of men : it being foretold that, when Christ cometh, *he shall not find faith upon the earth.*

II. Of Death

- 10 MEN fear death as children fear to go in the dark ; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious ; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read, in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what
- 20 the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved ; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb ; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa.* Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death ;
- 30 and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death ; love slights it ;

honour aspireth to it ; grief flieth to it ; fear pre-occupateth it ; nay we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay Seneca adds niceness and satiety : *Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris ; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration ¹⁰ in good spirits the approaches of death make : for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Caesar died in a compliment ; *Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale.* Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him ; *Iam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant.* Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio.* Galba with a sentence, *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani,* holding forth his neck. Septimius Severus in dispatch, *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum ;* and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon ²⁰ death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better saith he, *qui finem vitae extremum inter munera ponat naturae.* It is as natural to die as to be born ; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt ; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death. But above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is *Nunc dimittis*, when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. ³⁰ Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy.

—*Extinctus amabitur idem.*

V. *Of Adversity*

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics) *that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired. Bona rerum secundarum optabilia; adversarum mirabilia.* Certainly if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other, (much too high for a heathen) *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God. Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in poesy, where transcendences are more allowed. And the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is, in effect, the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian: that *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus* (by whom human nature is represented), *sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher:* lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world. But to speak in a mean. The virtue of prosperity is temperance; the virtue of adversity is fortitude; which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have

a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground : judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed : for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI. *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom ; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of politics that are the great dissemblers.

10

Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband, and dissimulation of her son ;* attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius. And again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, *We rise not against the piercing judgement of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius.* These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties, several, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgement as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted, and what to be showed at half-lights, and to whom, and when (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hindrance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to that judgement, then it is left to him, generally, to be close, and a dissembler : for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity ; but then they were like horses well managed,

for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn ; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion, spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self : the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy ; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is : the second, dissimulation
 10 in the negative ; when a man lets fall signs and arguments that he is not that he is : and the third, simulation in the affirmative ; when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor ; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions ; for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler ? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery ; as the more close air sucketh in the more open ; and as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use,
 20 but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind, while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to say truth), nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body ; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions if they be not altogether open. As for talkers and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal : for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, *that a habit of secrecy*
 30 *is both politic and moral.* And in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak ; for the discovery of a man's self by the tracts of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation. It followeth

many times upon secrecy by a necessity ; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way ; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can 10 be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults ; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure. 20

The great advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise ; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat ; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another ; for to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse ; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought ; and there- 30 fore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie and find a truth* ; as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which in any

business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion ; secrecy in habit ; dissimulation in seasonable use ; and a power to feign, if
 10 there be no remedy.

XI. *Of Great Place*

MEN in great place are thrice servants : servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business ; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty ; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains ; and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either
 20 a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason ; but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow ; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street-door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy ; for if they judge by their own feelings they cannot find it ; but if they think with themselves
 30 what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within ; for

they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly, men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind. *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In place, there is licence to do good, and evil ; whereof the latter is a curse ; for in evil the best condition is not to will, the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring ; for good thoughts (though God accept them) yet 10 towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act ; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion ; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest : for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera quae fecerunt manus suae, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis ;* and then the Sabbath.

In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best 20 examples ; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own example ; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place ; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons ; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have 30 degenerate ; but yet ask counsel of both times ; of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect ; but be not too positive and peremptory ; and express thyself well when

thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction ; and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*, than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places ; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place ; and do not drive away such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part.

- 10 The vices of authority are chiefly four : delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays, give easy access ; keep times appointed ; go through with that which is in hand ; and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy servants' hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering ; for integrity used doth the one ; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other ; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth
- 20 manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption : therefore, always, when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent : severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is
- 30 worse than bribery ; for bribes come but now and then ; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without. As Salomon saith, *To respect persons is not good ; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.*

It is most true that was anciently spoken ; *A place showeth the man* : and it showeth some to the better and

some to the worse. *Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset*, saith Tacitus of Galba ; but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius* : though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends ; for honour is or should be the place of virtue ; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair ; and if there be 10 factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly ; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors ; but let it rather be said, *When he sits in place, he is another man.* 20

XIV. *Of Nobility*

WE will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate ; then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks ; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not ; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition than where there are stirps of nobles ; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons ; or if upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest, 30 and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons ; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The

United Provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel ; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power ; and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice ; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on
10 too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense ; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons ; it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect ; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time : for new nobility
20 is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous but less innocent than their descendants ; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts ; but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry ; and he that is not industrious envieth him that is. Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher ; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise can hardly avoid motions of
30 envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business ; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

XVII. *Of Superstition*

IT were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of him ; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely : and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose : *Surely, saith he, I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born, as the poets speak of Saturn.* And, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Athe-¹⁰ism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation : all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not ; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb states ; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further : and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Caesar) were civil times. But superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new *primum mobile* that ravisheth all the spheres²⁰ of government. The master of superstition is the people ; and in all superstition wise men follow fools ; and arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, *that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs to save the phenomena, though they knew there were no such things :* and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the³⁰ practice of the Church. The causes of superstition are : pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies ; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness ; overgreat reverence of

traditions, which cannot but load the Church ; the strata-
gems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre ; the
favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the
gate to conceits and novelties ; the taking an aim at divine
matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of
imaginations ; and lastly, barbarous times, especially
joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without
a veil, is a deformed thing ; for as it addeth deformity to
an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition
10 to religion makes it the more deformed : and as wholesome
meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders
corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a
superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to
do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly
received ; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth
in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad,
which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

XVIII. *Of Travel*

TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of education ; in
the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a
20 country before he hath some entrance into the language,
goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel
under some tutor or grave servant, I allow well ; so that
he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in
the country before ; whereby he may be able to tell them
what things are worthy to be seen in the country where
they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what ex-
ercises or discipline the place yieldeth ; for else young men
shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing,
that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but
30 sky and sea, men should make diaries ; but in land travel,
wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they
omit it ; as if chance were fitter to be registered than

observation. Let diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are: the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors: the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories ecclesiastic: the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant: the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and so the havens and harbours: antiquities, and ruins: libraries; colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are: shipping and navies: houses, and gardens of state, and pleasure, near ¹⁰ great cities: armories: arsenals: magazines: exchanges: burses; warehouses: exercises of horsemanship; fencing; training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets, and rarities: and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masques, feasts, weddings, funerals capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them: yet are they not ²⁰ to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do. First, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth. Then he must have such a servant or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some card or book describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry. Let him keep also a diary. Let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth ³⁰ in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance. Let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he

travelleth. Let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his travel, with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors ; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of
10 many. Let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame. For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided ; they are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words. And let a man beware how he keepeth company with cholerick and quarrelsome persons ; for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters
20 with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture : and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forwards to tell stories : and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts ; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

XX. *Of Counsel*

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the
30 parts of life ; their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair ; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole : by how much

the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, *The Counsellor*. Salomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation : if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. 10 Salomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it : for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel ; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with Kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by Kings : the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which 20 signifieth counsel, whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel ; the other, in that which followeth, which was thus : they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child ; but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up ; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how Kings are to make use of their counsel of state : that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first be- 30 getting or impregnation ; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them ; but take the

matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed), proceeded from themselves ; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three : first, the revealing
10 of affairs, whereby they become less secret ; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves ; thirdly the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France in some Kings' times, hath introduced cabinet counsels ; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy ; princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and
20 select. Neither is it necessary that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves. And as for cabinet counsels, it may be their motto, *Plenus rimarum sum* : one futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs, which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the King : neither are those counsels unprosperous ; for, besides the
30 secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction. But then it must be a prudent King, such as is able to grind with a handmill ; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the King's ends ; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his

greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority ; the fable showeth the remedy. Nay, the majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel ; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependances by his council, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with ¹⁰ an eye to themselves ; certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram* is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved : let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another ; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the King's ear. But the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors as well as their counsellors know ²⁰ them :

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is rather to be skilful in their master's business than in his nature ; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together ; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, ³⁰ men are more bold in their own humours ; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours ; therefore it is good to take both : and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom ; of the greater rather in

consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons ; for all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, *secundum genera*, as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be ; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgement is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *Optimi consiliarii mortui* ; books will speak plain when counsellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated ; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day ; *In nocte consilium*. So was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions ; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere*. In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions ; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces ; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are in effect no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like) be first heard before committees ; and then, as occasion serves, before the

council. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner ; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance ; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business ; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A King, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth ; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, sing him a song of *placebo*.

XXIII. *Of Wisdom for a Man's Self*

AN ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society ; and be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others, specially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth. For that only stands fast upon his own centre ; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic ; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let princes or states choose such servants as have not this mark ; except they mean their service should be made but the accessory. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is that all

proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's ; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants ; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs. And for the most part the good such
 10 servants receive is after the model of their own fortune ; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set a house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs ; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves ; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure
 20 to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are *sui amantes sine rivali* are many times unfortunate ; and whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV. *Of Innovations*

30 As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into

their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation ; for ill, to man's nature, as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance ; but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils ; for time is the greatest innovator ; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end ? It is true, that what is 10 settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those things which have long gone together are as it were confederate within themselves ; whereas new things piece not so well ; but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Besides, they are like strangers, more admired and less favoured. All this is true if time stood still ; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation ; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new. It were good 20 therefore that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees scarce to be perceived : for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for ; and ever it mends some and pairs other ; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune and thanks the time ; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent or the utility evident ; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not 30 the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation. And lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect ; and, as the Scripture saith, *That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*

XXV. *Of Dispatch*

AFFECTED dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in races, it is not the large stride or high lift that makes the speed ; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is
 10 the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off ; and business so handled at several sittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares ; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch.
 20 The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch : *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna ; Let my death come from Spain ;* for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches ; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his
 30 memory than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time ; but there is no

such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question ; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces, and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time ; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills ; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order and distribution and singling out of parts is the life of dispatch ; so as the distribution be not too subtile : for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business ; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time ; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business : the preparation ; the debate, or examination ; and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of 20 many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch ; for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVII. *Of Friendship*

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god*. For it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society in any man hath somewhat of 30 the savage beast ; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed,

- not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation : such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen ; as Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana ; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and
 10 talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little, *Magna civitas, magna solitudo* ; because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness ; and even in this sense also of solitude, who-
 soever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.
 20 A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body ; and it is not much otherwise in the mind : you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flowers of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain ; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind
 30 of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak : so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their

subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace or conversation. But the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them *participes curarum*; for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, ¹⁰ but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned; who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch; for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, ²⁰ and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; *for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting*. With Julius Caesar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death: for when Caesar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he ³⁰ would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamt a better dream; and it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him *venefica, witch*; as if he had enchanted Caesar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though

of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Maecenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Maecenas took the liberty to tell him, *that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life ; there was no third way, he had made him so great.* With Tiberius Caesar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, *Hacc pro amicitia nostra non occultavi ;* and the whole senate dedicated an altar to
 10 Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus ; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son ; and did write also in a letter to the senate by these words, *I love the man so well as I wish he may over-live me.* Now if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature ; but being men so wise,
 20 of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half-piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire ; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews ; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy ; namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none ; and least of all
 30 those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and saith that towards his latter time *that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding.* Surely Comineus might have made the same judgement also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Lewis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable

of Pythagoras is dark but true, *Cor ne edito,—eat not the heart*. Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects ; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves. For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more ; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he 10 grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue as the alchymists used to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. But yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature. For, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action, and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression ; and even so is it of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign 20 for the understanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend ; but before you come to that, certain it is that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another ; he tosseth his thoughts more easily ; he 30 marshalleth them more orderly ; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words ; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself ; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, *That speech was like cloth of Arras*

opened and put abroad ; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure ; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs. Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel ; (they indeed are best) ; but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statua or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to
10 pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation ; which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, *Dry light is ever the best.* And certain it is that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgement ; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that
20 a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer ; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts ; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business. For the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometimes too piercing and
30 corrosive. Reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead. Observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case. But the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great

damage both of their fame and fortune : for, as St. James saith, they are as men *that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour*. As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one ; or that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on ; or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters ; or that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest ; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which ¹⁰ setteth business straight. And if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces, asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man, it is well (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all) ; but he runneth two dangers : one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled ; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it : the other, that he shall have counsel given hurtful and unsafe (though with ²⁰ good meaning), and mixed partly of mischief and partly of remedy ; even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body ; and therefore may put you in a way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease and kill the patient. But a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience. And therefore rest not upon scattered counsels ; they will rather ³⁰ distract and mislead than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgement) followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels ; I mean aid, and bearing a part, in all actions and

occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself ; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients to say, *that a friend is another himself* : for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart ; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that
 10 the care of those things will continue after him ; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place ; but where friendship is, all offices of life are as it were granted to him and his deputy ; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself ? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them : a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg : and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in
 20 a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father ; to his wife but as a husband ; to his enemy but upon terms : whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless : I have given the rule where a man cannot fitly play his own part : if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXIX. *Of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*

THE speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was
 30 haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied

at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.* These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two different abilities in those that deal in business of estate. For if a true survey be taken of counselors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle : as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift ¹⁰ lieth the other way ; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling ; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counselors and governors which may be held sufficient (*negotiis pares*), able to manage affairs, and to keep them from ²⁰ precipices and manifest inconveniences ; which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work ; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof—an argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand ; to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces they lose themselves in vain enterprises, nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels. ³⁰

The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory doth fall under measure ; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters ; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet there is not anything

amongst civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgement concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed ; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command ; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armouries, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like : all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay number itself in armies importeth not much where the people is of weak courage ; for (as Virgil saith) *It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be*. The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him therefore and wished him to set upon them by night ; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the victory* ; and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight* ; but before the sun set he found them enough to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage : so that a man may truly make a judgement that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing : for Solon said well to

Croesus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), *Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.* Therefore let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers. And let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may spread his feathers for a time,* ¹⁰ *but he will mew them soon after.*

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet ; *that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens :* neither will it be that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less ; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries ; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England. For you must note that we speak now of the heart and not of the purse. So that ²⁰ although the same tribute and tax laid by consent or by imposing be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude *that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.*

Let states that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast ; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods ; *if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean under-wood, but shrubs and bushes.* So in countries, if the gentle- ³⁰ men be too many, the commons will be base ; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for an helmet : especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army : and so there will be great population and little

strength. This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France ; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch ; in regard, the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of King Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard, that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may
 10 breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition ; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy :

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebae.

Neither is that state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be perhaps in Poland) to be passed
 20 over ; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms. And therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence and great retinues and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom doth much conduce unto martial greatness ; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear
 30 the branches and the boughs ; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern. Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire. For to think that a handful of people

can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization ; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm ; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becommen too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was in this point so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest mon-¹⁰archy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called *jus civitatis*), and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus haereditatis*, but also, *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum* ; and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families ; yea to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations. And putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world²⁰ that spread upon the Romans ; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards ; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it ; that is, *to employ almost indifferently all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers* ; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands. Nay, it seemeth at this instant³⁰ they are sensible of this want of natives ; as by the *Pragmatical Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certain that sedentary and within-door arts and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm) have in their nature a contrariety to a military

disposition. And generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail ; neither must they be too much broken of it if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which for that purpose are the more
10 easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c., not reckoning professed soldiers.

But above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation. For the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms ; and what is habilitation without intention and act ? Romulus,
20 after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end. The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash. The Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time. The Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are in effect only the Spaniards. But it is so plain *that every*
30 *man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it ; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms may look to have greatness fall into their mouths. And on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and

Turks principally have done) do wonders. And those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some at the least specious grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. First therefore let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers ; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation. Secondly, let them be prest and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates : as it ever was with the Romans ; insomuch as if the confederate had leagues defensive with divers other states, and upon invasion offered did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified : as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Graecia : or when the Lacedaemonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies : or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression ; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be

great that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and certainly to a kingdom or estate a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for
 10 happiness, without all question for greatness it maketh to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least the reputation amongst all neighbour states; as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgement of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation
 20 against Caesar, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim qui mari potitur eum rerum potiri.* And without doubt Pompey had tired out Caesar if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea. The battle of Actium decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war; but this is when princes or states have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain; that he that commands the sea
 30 is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely at this day with us of Europe the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of

Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass ; and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers ; and some remembrance perhaps upon the ¹⁰ scutcheon ; and some hospitals for maimed soldiers ; and such like things. But in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory ; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars ; the crowns and garlands personal ; the style of emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed ; the triumphs of the generals upon their return ; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies ; were things able to inflame all men's courages. But above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants or ²⁰ gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was. For it contained three things ; honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army. But that honour perhaps were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself or his sons ; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general. ³⁰

To conclude : no man can *by care taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature* in this little model of a man's body ; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms. For by

introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXXII. *Of Discourse*

SOME in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgement, in discerning what is true ; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common-places and themes wherein they are
 10 good, and want variety ; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion ; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else ; for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse and speech of conversation to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and, jest with earnest ; for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade anything too far. As for jest, there be certain things which
 20 ought to be privileged from it ; namely religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant and to the quick ; that is a vein which would be bridled ;

Parce puer stimulis, et fortius utere loris.

And generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need
 30 be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much ; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he

asketh ; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser. And let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on ; as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself* : and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used ; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house ; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, *Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow given ?* To which the guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed*. The lord would say *I thought he would mar a good dinner*. Discretion of speech is more than eloquence ; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal is more than to speak in good words or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness ; and a good reply or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turn ; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome ; to use none at all is blunt.

XXXVI. *Of Ambition*

AMBITION is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped : but if it be stopped and cannot have his way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous ; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward ; which
10 is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state. Therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrograde ; which because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all ; for if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be
20 they never so ambitious, for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest ; and to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy ; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops ; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there
30 resteth to speak how they are to be bridled that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth than if they be noble ; and if they be rather harsh of nature than gracious and popular ; and

if they be rather new raised than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites ; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over-great. Another means to curb them is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors to keep things steady ; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate 10 and inure some meaner persons to be as it were scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well ; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than 20 that other to appear in everything ; for that breeds confusion and mars business. But yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business than great in dependances. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task ; but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of an whole age. Honour hath three things in it : the vantage ground to do good ; the approach to kings and principal persons ; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions when 30 he aspireth is an honest man ; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery ; and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

XXXIX. *Of Custom and Education*

MEN's thoughts are much according to their inclination : their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions ; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. And therefore, as Macciavel well noteth (though in an evil-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature or his
10 resolute undertakings, but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Macciavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard ; yet his rule holdeth still, that nature nor the engagement of words are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation ; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible ; insomuch as a man would wonder to
20 hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images, and engines moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta of ancient time were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as queching. I remember, in the beginning
30 of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe, and not in an halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for

penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom both upon mind and body. Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years : this we call education, which is in effect but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth than ¹⁰ afterwards. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custom simple and separate be great, the force of custom copulate and conjoined and collegiate is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth ; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of ²⁰ virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined. For commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XLII. *Of Youth and Age*

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second. For there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages. And yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of ³⁰ old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and as it were more divinely. Natures that have much heat,

and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years : as it was with Julius Caesar and Septimius Severus ; of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus, plenam* ; and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth : as it is seen in Augustus Caesar, Cosmus duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for
 10 business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than for counsel, and fitter for new projects than for settled business ; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them ; but in new things abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business ; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done or sooner.

Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold ; stir more than they
 20 can quiet ; fly to the end without consideration of the means and degrees ; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly ; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences ; use extreme remedies at first ; and, that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is
 30 good to compound employments of both ; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both : and good for succession, that young men may be learners while men in age are actors : and lastly, good for externe accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth. But

for the moral part, perhaps youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin, upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*, inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream. And certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world the more it intoxicateth : and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes : these ¹⁰ are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned ; such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtile, who afterwards waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age ; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech, which becomes youth well but not age : so Tully saith of Hortensius, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*. The third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold ; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith ²⁰ in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant*.

XLVI. *Of Gardens*

God Almighty first planted a garden. And, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man ; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works : and a man shall ever see that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely ; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which severally things of beauty ³⁰ may be then in season. For December and January and the latter part of November, you must take such things as

are green all winter: holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pineapple-trees, fir-trees, rosemary, lavender, periwinkle—the white the purple and the blue, germander, flags, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses, anemones, the early tulippa, hyacinthus orientalis, chamaïris, fritillaria. For March, there come
 10 violets, specially the single blue which are the earliest, the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom, sweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet, the wall flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces and lilies of all natures, rosemary-flowers, the tulippa, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damson and plum-trees in blossom, the white-thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially
 20 the blush-pink, roses of all kinds, except the musk which comes later, honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marygold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, raspes, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian with the white flower, herba muscaria, liliun convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears and plums in fruit, ginnittings, codlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricocks, barberries, filberts, musk-melons, monks-hoods
 30 of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyhocks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning

is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum* as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music), than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells ; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness ; yea though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no ¹⁰ smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram. That which above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air is the violet, specially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose ; then the strawberry-leaves dying, which [yield] a most excellent cordial smell ; then the flower of the vines,—it is a little dust, like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth ; then sweet-briar ; then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour ²⁰ or lower chamber window ; then pinks and gilliflowers, specially the matted pink and clove gilliflower ; then the flowers of the lime-tree ; then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field-flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three : that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water mints. Therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-³⁰ like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground ; and to be divided into three parts : a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst,

besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures : the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn ; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden. But because the alley will be long, and in great heat of the year or day you ought not
10 to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green, therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys ; you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge ; the arches to be upon
20 pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work ; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds : and over every space, between the arches, some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass, gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this edge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep but gently slope, of some six
30 foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure ; not at

the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green ; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device ; advising nevertheless that whatsoever form you cast it into, first it be not too busy, or full of work. Wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff ; they be for children. Little low hedges, round, like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well ; and in some places fair columns upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents, and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast ; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments ; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high ; and some fine banqueting-house, with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass. 20

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment ; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures ; the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water : the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well : but the main matter is so to convey the water as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern ; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green, or red, 30 or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it, doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing-pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty,

wherewith we will not trouble ourselves : as that the bottom be finely paved, and with images ; the sides likewise ; and withal embellished with coloured glass and such things of lustre ; encompassed also with fine rails of low statuas. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain ; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little.

10 And for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking-glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet-briar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst ; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses ; for these are sweet, and prosper

20 in the shade ; and these to be in the heath, here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander that gives a good flower to the eye, some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with liliū convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly : part of which heaps to be with standards

30 of little bushes prickt upon their top, and part without : the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-briar, and such like : but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade ; some of them, where-soever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind ; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this should be generally observed, that the borders ¹⁰ wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair and large and low and not steep ; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys, ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees ; and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees, and arbours with seats, set in some decent order ; but these to be by no means set too ²⁰ thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day ; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and in the heat of summer for the morning and the evening or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed and have living plants and bushes set in them ; that the birds may have more scope ³⁰ and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines of it ; and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing for great princes, that for the

most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost, set their things together ; and sometimes add statuas and such things for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII. *Of Negotiating*

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter ; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter back again ; or when it may serve for a man's justification, afterwards to produce his own letter ; or where
10 it may be danger to be interrupted or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors ; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh may give him a direction how far to go : and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive
20 out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much ; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them ; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive
30 to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off than to fall upon the

point at first ; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all ; which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before ; or else a man can persuade the other party that he shall still need him in some other thing ; or else that he be counted the honestest man. All practice is to discover or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, ¹⁰ at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature, and fashions, and so lead him ; or his ends, and so persuade him ; or his weakness, and disadvantages, and so awe him ; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches ; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at ²⁰ once ; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

L. *Of Studies*

STUDIES serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight is in privateness and retiring ; for ornament is in discourse ; and for ability is in the judgement and disposition of business. For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one ; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth ; to use them too much for ornament is affectation ; to make judgement wholly by ³⁰ their rules is the humour of a scholar. They perfect nature,

and are perfected by experience : for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study ; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men condemn studies ; simple men admire them ; and wise men use them : for they teach not their own use ; but that is a wisdom without them and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute ; nor to believe and take for granted ; nor to find talk and discourse ; but
10 to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested : that is, some books are to be read only in parts ; others to be read but not curiously ; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others : but that would be only in the less important arguments and the meaner sort of books ; else distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man ; conference a ready man ; and writing an exact
20 man. And therefore, if a man write little he had need have a great memory ; if he confer little he had need have a present wit ; and if he read little he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise ; poets, witty ; the mathematics, subtile ; natural philosophy, deep ; moral, grave ; logic and rhetoric, able to contend. *Abcunt studia in mores*. Nay there is no stond or impediment in the wit but may be wrought out by fit studies : like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the stone and
30 reins ; shooting for the lungs and breast ; gentle walking for the stomach ; riding for the head ; and the like. So if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics ; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again. If his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen ; for they are

Cymini sectores. If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases. So every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LIV. *Of Vain Glory*

It was prettily devised of Aesop, *The fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot-wheel and said, what a dust do I raise.* So are there some vain persons that, whatsoever goeth alone or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious ; for all bravery 10 stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual ; but according to the French proverb *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit : much bruit, little fruit.* Yet certainly there is use of this quality in civil affairs. Where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Aetolians, *there are sometimes great effects of cross lies ;* as if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw 20 them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other : and sometimes he that deals between man and man raiseth his own credit with both by pretending greater interest than he hath in either. And in these and the like kinds it often falls out that somewhat is produced of nothing ; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In militar commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point ; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enter- 30 prise, upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business ; and those that are of

solid and sober natures have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de contemnenda gloria libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.* Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation. Certainly vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholding to human nature as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well if it had not been
10 joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes seelings not only shine but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, *Omnium quae dixerat feceratque, arte quadam ostentator*: for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion, and in some persons is not only comely, but gracious. For excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus
20 speaketh of; which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For saith Pliny very wittily, *In commending another you do yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior. If he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more: if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.* Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

THE
Twvoo Bookes of
FRANCIS BACON.

Of the proficiencie and aduance-
ment of Learning, diuine and
humane.

To the King.

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OF THE PROFICIENCE AND
ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING
DIVINE AND HUMAN

Objections made to Learning

AND for the conceit that learning should dispose men to leisure and privateness, and make men slothful ; it were a strange thing if that which accustometh the mind to a perpetual motion and agitation should induce slothfulness : whereas contrariwise it may be truly affirmed, that no kind of men love business for itself but those that are learned ; for other persons love it for profit, as an hireling, that loves the work for the wages ; or for honour, as because it beareth them up in the eyes of men, and refresheth their reputation,
10 which otherwise would wear ; or because it putteth them in mind of their fortune, and giveth them occasion to pleasure and displeasure ; or because it exerciseth some faculty wherein they take pride, and so entertaineth them in good humour and pleasing conceits toward themselves ; or because it advanceth any other their ends. So that as it is said of untrue valours, that some men's valours are in the eyes of them that look on ; so such men's industries are in the eyes of others, or at least in regard of their own designments : only learned men love business as an action
20 according to nature, as agreeable to health of mind as exercise is to health of body, taking pleasure in the action itself, and not in the purchase : so that of all men they are the most indefatigable, if it be towards any business which can hold or detain their mind.

And if any man be laborious in reading and study and yet idle in business and action, it groweth from some weakness of body or softness of spirits ; such as Seneca speaketh of : *Quidam tam sunt umbratiles, ut putent in turbido esse*

quicquid in luce est ; and not of learning : well may it be that such a point of a man's nature may make him give himself to learning, but it is not learning that breedeth any such point in his nature.

And that learning should take up too much time or leisure ; I answer, the most active or busy man that hath been or can be, hath (no question) many vacant times of leisure, while he expecteth the tides and returns of business (except he be either tedious and of no dispatch, or lightly and unworthily ambitious to meddle in things that may be 10 better done by others), and then the question is but how those spaces and times of leisure shall be filled and spent ; whether in pleasures or in studies ; as was well answered by Demosthenes to his adversary Æschines, that was a man given to pleasure and told him *That his orations did smell of the lamp ; Indeed* (said Demosthenes) *there is a great difference between the things that you and I do by lamp-light.* So as no man need doubt that learning will expulse business, but rather it will keep and defend the possession of the mind against idleness and pleasure, which otherwise at 20 unawares may enter to the prejudice of both.

Again, for that other conceit that learning should undermine the reverence of laws and government, it is assuredly 10 a mere depravation and calumny, without all shadow of truth. For to say that a blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation than duty taught and understood, it is to affirm, that a blind man may tread surer by a guide than a seeing man can by a light. And it is without all controversy, that learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, maniable, and pliant to government ; 30 whereas ignorance makes them churlish, thwart, and mutinous : and the evidence of time doth clear this assertion, considering that the most barbarous, rude, and unlearned times have been most subject to tumults, seditions, and changes.

Education

AND for meanness of employment, that which is most traduced to contempt is that the government of youth is commonly allotted to them ; which age, because it is the age of least authority, it is transferred to the disesteeming of those employments wherein youth is conversant, and which are conversant about youth. But how unjust this traducement is (if you will reduce things from popularity of opinion to measure of reason) may appear in that we see men are more curious what they put into a new vessel than
10 into a vessel seasoned ; and what mould they lay about a young plant than about a plant corroborate ; so as the weakest terms and times of all things use to have the best applications and helps. And will you hearken to the Hebrew rabbins ? *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams* ; say they youth is the worthier age, for that visions are nearer apparitions of God than dreams ? And let it be noted, that howsoever the condition of life of *pedantes* hath been scorned upon theatres, as the ape of tyranny ; and that the modern
20 looseness or negligence hath taken no due regard to the choice of schoolmasters and tutors ; yet the ancient wisdom of the best times did always make a just complaint that states were too busy with their laws and too negligent in point of education : which excellent part of ancient discipline hath been in some sort revived of late times by the colleges of the Jesuits, of whom, although in regard of their superstition I may say, *Quo meliores, eo deteriores* ; yet in regard to this, and some other points concerning human learning and moral matters, I may say, as Agesilaus said
30 to his enemy Pharnabazus, *Talis quum sis, utinam noster esses*. And thus much touching the discredits drawn from the fortunes of learned men.

Self and Country

ANOTHER fault likewise much of this kind hath been incident to learned men ; which is, that they have esteemed the preservation, good, and honour or their countries or masters before their own fortunes or safeties. For so saith Demosthenes unto the Athenians ; *If it please you to note it, my counsels unto you are not such whereby I should grow great amongst you, and you become little amongst the Grecians ; but they be of that nature, as they are sometimes not good for me to give, but are always good for you to follow.* And so Seneca, after he had consecrated that *Quinquennium* 10 *Neronis* to the eternal glory of learned governors, held on his honest and loyal course of good and free counsel, after his master grew extremely corrupt in his government. Neither can this point otherwise be ; for learning endueth men's minds with a true sense of the frailty of their persons, the casualty of their fortunes, and the dignity of their soul and vocation : so that it is impossible for them to esteem that any greatness of their own fortune can be a true or worthy end of their being and ordainment ; and therefore are desirous to give their account to God, and so likewise 20 to their masters under God (as kings and the states that they serve) in these words : *Ecce tibi lucrifici*, and not *Ecce mihi lucrifici* ; whereas the corrupter sort of mere politiques, that have not their thoughts established by learning in the love and apprehension of duty, nor never look abroad into universality, do refer all things to themselves, and thrust themselves into the centre of the world, as if all lines should meet in them and their fortunes ; never caring in all tempests what becomes of the ship of estates, so they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune : 30 whereas men that feel the weight of duty and know the limits of self-love, use to make good their places and duties, though with peril ; and if they stand in seditious and violent

alterations, it is rather the reverence which many times both adverse parts do give to honesty, than any versatile advantage of their own carriage. But for this point of tender sense and fast obligation of duty which learning doth endue the mind withal, howsoever fortune may tax it, and many in the depth of their corrupt principles may despise it, yet it will receive an open allowance, and therefore needs the less disproof or excusation.

Words and Matter

HERE therefore is the first distemper of learning, when
10 men study words and not matter ; whereof, though I have represented an example of late times, yet it hath been and will be *secundum majus et minus* in all time. And how is it possible but this should have an operation to discredit learning, even with vulgar capacities, when they see learned men's works like the first letter of a patent, or limned book ; which though it hath large flourishes, yet it is but a letter ? It seems to me that Pygmalion's frenzy is a good emblem or portraiture of this vanity : for words are but the images of matter ; and except they have life of reason and invention,
20 to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture.

The End of Knowledge

BUT the greatest error of all the rest is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge. For men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite ; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight ; sometimes for ornament and reputation ; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction ; and most times for lucre and profession ; and seldom sincerely

to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men ; as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit ; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect ; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon ; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention ; or a shop for profit or sale ; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate. But this is that which will indeed dignify and exalt knowledge, if contemplation and 10 action may be more nearly and straitly conjoined and united together than they have been ; a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets, Saturn, the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter, the planet of civil society and action. Howbeit, I do not mean, when I speak of use and action, that end before-mentioned of the applying of knowledge to lucre and profession ; for I am not ignorant how much that diverteth and interrupteth the prosecution and advancement of knowledge, like unto the golden ball thrown before Atalanta, which while she goeth 20 aside and stoopeth to take up, the race is hindered,

Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.

Neither is my meaning, as was spoken of Socrates, to call philosophy down from heaven to converse upon the earth ; that is, to leave natural philosophy aside, and to apply knowledge only to manners and policy. But as both heaven and earth do conspire and contribute to the use and benefit of man ; so the end ought to be, from both philosophies to separate and reject vain speculations, and whatsoever is empty and void, and to preserve and augment whatsoever 30 is solid and fruitful : that knowledge may not be as a courtesan, for pleasure and vanity only, or as a bond-woman, to acquire and gain to her master's use ; but as a spouse, for generation, fruit, and comfort.

Learning makes for Peace and Order

NEITHER is certainly that other merit of learning, in re-
 pressing the inconveniences which grow from man to man,
 much inferior to the former, of relieving the necessities
 which arise from nature ; which merit was lively set forth
 by the ancients in that feigned relation of Orpheus' theatre,
 where all beasts and birds assembled ; and forgetting their
 several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of
 quarrel, stood all sociably together listening unto the airs
 and accords of the harp : the sound whereof no sooner
 10 ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every
 beast returned to his own nature : wherein is aptly de-
 scribed the nature and condition of men, who are full of
 savage and unreclaimed desires, of profit, of lust, of revenge ;
 which aslong as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion,
 sweetly touched with eloquence and persuasion of books,
 of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace main-
 tained ; but if these instruments be silent, or that sedition
 and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into
 anarchy and confusion.

20 But this appeareth more manifestly, when kings them-
 selves, or persons of authority under them, or other gover-
 nors in commonwealths and popular estates, are endued
 with learning. For although he might be thought partial
 to his own profession, that said *Then should people and*
estates be happy, when either kings were philosophers, or
philosophers kings ; yet so much is verified by experience,
 that under learned princes and governors there have been
 ever the best times : for howsoever kings may have their
 imperfections in their passions and customs ; yet if they be
 30 illuminate by learning, they have those notions of religion,
 policy, and morality, which do preserve them and refrain
 them from all ruinous and peremptory errors and excesses ;
 whispering evermore in their ears, when counsellors and

servants stand mute and silent. And senators or counsellors likewise, which be learned, do proceed upon more safe and substantial principles, than counsellors which are only men of experience: the one sort keeping dangers afar off, whereas the other discover them not till they come near hand, and then trust to the agility of their wit to ward or avoid them.

Knowledge and Private Virtue

To proceed now from imperial and military virtue to moral and private virtue ; first, it is an assured truth, which is contained in the verses,

Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes 10
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

It taketh away the wildness and barbarism and fierceness of men's minds ; but indeed the accent had need be upon *fideliter* ; for a little superficial learning doth rather work a contrary effect. It taketh away all levity, temerity, and insolency, by copious suggestion of all doubts and difficulties, and acquainting the mind to balance reasons on both sides, and to turn back the first offers and conceits of the mind, and to accept of nothing but examined and tried. It taketh away vain admiration of anything, which is the 20 root of all weakness. For all things are admired either because they are new, or because they are great. For novelty, no man that wadeth in learning or contemplation throughly, but will find that printed in his heart, *Nil novi super terram*. Neither can any man marvel at the play of puppets, that goeth behind the curtain, and adviseth well of the motion. And for magnitude, as Alexander the Great, after that he was used to great armies, and the great conquests of the spacious provinces in Asia, when he received letters out of Greece, of some fights and services there, which were 30 commonly for a passage, or a fort, or some walled town at the most, he said, *It seemed to him, that he was advertised of*

the battles of the frogs and the mice, that the old tales went of.

So certainly, if a man meditate much upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it (the divineness of souls except) will not seem much other than an ant-hill whereas some ants carry corn, and some carry their young, and some go empty, and all to and fro a little heap of dust. It taketh away or mitigateth fear of death or adverse fortune ; which is one of the greatest impediments of virtue, and imperfections of manners. For if a man's mind be deeply
 10 seasoned with the consideration of the mortality and corruptible nature of things, he will easily concur with Epictetus who went forth one day and saw a woman weeping for her pitcher of earth that was broken, and went forth the next day and saw a woman weeping for her son that was dead, and thereupon said, *Heri vidi fragilem frangi, hodie vidi mortalem mori.* And therefore Virgil did excellently and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes and the conquest of all fears together, as *concomitantia*.

20 Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
 Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
 Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

It were too long to go over the particular remedies which learning doth minister to all the diseases of the mind ; sometimes purging the ill-humours, sometimes opening the obstructions, sometimes helping digestion, sometimes increasing appetite, sometimes healing the wounds and exulcerations thereof, and the like ; and therefore I will conclude with that which hath *rationem totius* ; which is, that it disposeth the constitution of the mind not to be fixed or settled in the
 30 defects thereof, but still to be capable and susceptible of growth and reformation. For the unlearned man knows not what it is to descend into himself, or to call himself to account, nor the pleasure of that *suavissima vita, indies sentire se fieri meliorem.* The good parts he hath he will learn to show to the full, and use them dexterously, but not much to

increase them. The faults he hath he will learn how to hide and colour them, but not much to amend them ; like an ill mower, that mows on still, and never whets his scythe. Whereas with the learned man it fares otherwise, that he doth ever intermix the correction and amendment of his mind with the use and employment thereof. Nay further, in general and in sum, certain it is that *Veritas* and *Bonitas* differ but as the seal and the print : for Truth prints Goodness, and they be the clouds of error which descend in the storms of passions and perturbations.

10

From moral virtue let us pass on to the matter of power and commandment, and consider whether in right reason there be any comparable with that wherewith knowledge investeth and crowneth man's nature. We see the dignity of the commandment is according to the dignity of the commanded : to have commandment over beasts, as herds- men have, is a thing contemptible : to have commandment over children, as schoolmasters have, is a matter of small honour : to have commandment over galley-slaves is a disparagement rather than an honour. Neither is the com- 20 mandment of tyrants much better, over people which have put off the generosity of their minds : and therefore it was ever holden that honours in free monarchies and common- wealths had a sweetness more than in tyrannies, because the commandment extendeth more over the wills of men, and not only over their deeds and services. And therefore, when Virgil putteth himself forth to attribute to Augustus Caesar the best of human honours, he doth it in these words:

Victorque volentes

Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo. 30

But the commandment of knowledge is yet higher than the commandment over the will : for it is a commandment over the reason, belief, and understanding of man, which is the highest part of the mind, and giveth law to the will itself. For there is no power on earth which setteth up a throne or

chair of estate in the spirits and souls of men, and in their cogitations, imaginations, opinions, and beliefs, but knowledge and learning. And therefore we see the detestable and extreme pleasure that arch-heretics, and false prophets, and impostors are transported with, when they once find in themselves that they have a superiority in the faith and conscience of men ; so great as if they have once tasted of it, it is seldom seen that any torture or persecution can make them relinquish or abandon it. But as this is that
10 which the author of the Revelation calleth the depth or profoundness of Satan, so by argument of contraries, the just and lawful sovereignty over men's understanding, by force of truth rightly interpreted, is that which approacheth nearest to the similitude of the divine rule

The Pleasure of Learning

AGAIN, for the pleasure and delight of knowledge and learning, it far surpasseth all other in nature. For, shall the pleasures of the affections so exceed the pleasure of the sense, as much as the obtaining of desire or victory exceedeth a song or a dinner ? and must not of consequence
20 the pleasures of the intellect or understanding exceed the pleasures of the affections ? We see in all other pleasures there is satiety, and after they be used, their verdure departeth ; which showeth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures : and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality. And therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious princes turn melancholy. But of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable ; and therefore appeareth to be good in itself simply, without
30 fallacy or accident. Neither is that pleasure of small efficacy and contentment to the mind of man, which the poet Lucretius describeth elegantly,

Suave mari magno, turbantibus aequora ventis, &c.

It is a view of delight (saith he) to stand or walk upon the shore side, and to see a ship tossed with tempest upon the sea; or to be in a fortified tower, and to see two battles join upon a plain. But it is a pleasure incomparable, for the mind of man to be settled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of truth; and from thence to descry and behold the errors, perturbations, labours, and wanderings up and down of other men.

Acts of Merit towards Learning

THE works or acts of merit towards learning are conversant about three objects; the places of learning, the books of learning, and the persons of the learned. For as water, whether it be the dew of heaven, or the springs of the earth, doth scatter and leese itself in the ground, except it be collected into some receptacle, where it may by union comfort and sustain itself: and for that cause the industry of man hath made and framed spring-heads, conduits, cisterns, and pools, which men have accustomed likewise to beautify and adorn with accomplishments of magnificence and state, as well as of use and necessity: so this excellent liquor of knowledge, whether it descend from divine inspiration, or spring from human sense, would soon perish and vanish to oblivion, if it were not preserved in books, traditions, conferences, and places appointed, as universities, colleges, and schools, for the receipt and comforting of the same.

Limitations of Colleges

FIRST therefore, amongst so many great foundations of colleges in Europe, I find strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large. For if men judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of

the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do, nor of sense, as the head doth : but yet notwithstanding it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest. So if any man think philosophy and universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied. And this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the progression of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied
10 but in passage. For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not anything you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth and putting new mould about the roots that must work it. Neither is it to be forgotten, that this dedicating of foundations and dotations to professory learning hath not only had a malign aspect and influence upon the growth of sciences, but hath also been prejudicial to states and governments. For hence it proceedeth that princes find a solitude in regard of able
20 men to serve them in causes of estate, because there is no education collegiate which is free ; where such as were so disposed mought give themselves to histories, modern languages, books of policy and civil discourse, and other the like enablements unto service of estate.

Intercourse of Universities

ANOTHER defect which I note, ascendeth a little higher than the precedent. For as the proficiencie of learning consisteth much in the orders and institutions of universities in the same states and kingdoms, so it would be yet more advanced, if there were more intelligence mutual between the universities of Europe than now there is. We see there
30 be many orders and foundations, which though they be divided under several sovereignties and territories, yet they take themselves to have a kind of contract, fraternity,

and correspondence one with the other, insomuch as they have provincials and generals. And surely as nature createth brotherhood in families, and arts mechanical contract brotherhoods in communalities, and the anointment of God superinduceth a brotherhood in kings and bishops, so in like manner there cannot but be a fraternity in learning and illumination, relating to that paternity which is attributed to God, who is called the Father of illuminations or lights.

Reason, Will, and Imagination

THE knowledge which respecteth the faculties of the mind of man is of two kinds ; the one respecting his understand- 10 ing and reason, and the other his will, appetite, and affection ; whereof the former produceth position or decree, the latter action or execution. It is true that the imagination is an agent or *nuncius*, in both provinces, both the judicial and the ministerial. For sense sendeth over to imagination before reason have judged : and reason sendeth over to imagination before the decree can be acted. For imagination ever precedeth voluntary motion. Saving that this Janus of imagination hath differing faces : for the face towards reason hath the print of truth, but the face towards action 20 hath the print of good ; which nevertheless are faces,

Quales decet esse sororum.

Neither is the imagination simply and only a messenger ; but is invested with, or at least wise usurpeth no small authority in itself, besides the duty of the message. For it was well said by Aristotle, *That the mind hath over the body that commandment, which the lord hath over a bond-man ; but that reason hath over the imagination that commandment which a magistrate hath over a free citizen ;* who may come also to rule in his turn. For we see that, in matters of faith 30 and religion, we raise our imagination above our reason ; which is the cause why religion sought ever access to the

mind by similitudes, types, parables, visions, dreams. And again, in all persuasions that are wrought by eloquence, and other impressions of like nature, which do paint and disguise the true appearance of things, the chief recommendation unto reason is from the imagination. Nevertheless, because I find not any science that doth properly or fitly pertain to the imagination, I see no cause to alter the former division. For as for poesy, it is rather a pleasure or play of imagination, than a work of duty thereof. And
10 if it be a work, we speak not now of such parts of learning as the imagination produceth, but of such sciences as handle and consider of the imagination. No more than we shall speak now of such knowledges as reason produceth (for that extendeth to all philosophy), but of such knowledges as do handle and inquire of the faculty of reason : so as poesy had his true place. As for the power of the imagination in nature, and the manner of fortifying the same, we have mentioned it in the doctrine *De Anima*, whereunto most fitly it belongeth. And lastly, for imaginative or
20 insinuating reason, which is the subject of rhetoric, we think it best to refer it to the arts of reason. So therefore we content ourselves with the former division, that human philosophy which respecteth the faculties of the mind of man, hath two parts, rational and moral.

Memory

FOR the other principal part of the custody of knowledge, which is memory, I find that faculty in my judgement weakly inquired of. An art there is extant of it ; but it seemeth to me that there are better precepts than that art, and better practices of that art than those received. It is
30 certain the art (as it is) may be raised to pointsof ostentation prodigious : but in use (as it is now managed) it is barren, not burdensome, nor dangerous to natural memory, as is imagined, but barren, that is, not dexterous to be applied to

the serious use of business and occasions. And therefore I make no more estimation of repeating a great number of names or words upon once hearing, or the pouring forth of a number of verses or rhymes *ex tempore*, or the making of a satirical simile of everything, or the turning of everything to a jest, or the falsifying or contradicting of everything by cavil, or the like (whereof in the faculties of the mind there is great copie, and such as by device and practice may be exalted to an extreme degree of wonder), than I do of the tricks of tumblers, funambuloes, baladines ; the one being 10 the same in the mind that the other is in the body, matters of strangeness without worthiness.

Knowledges as delivered

FOR as knowledges are now delivered, there is a kind of contract of error between the deliverer and the receiver. For he that delivereth knowledge, desireth to deliver it in such form as may be best believed, and not as may be best examined ; and he that receiveth knowledge, desireth rather present satisfaction, than expectant inquiry ; and so rather not to doubt, than not to err : glory making the author not to lay open his weakness, and sloth making the 20 disciple not to know his strength.

But knowledge that is delivered as a thread to be spun on, ought to be delivered and intimated, if it were possible, in the same method wherein it was invented : and so is it possible of knowledge induced. But in this same anticipated and prevented knowledge, no man knoweth how he came to the knowledge which he hath obtained. But yet nevertheless, *secundum majus et minus*, a man may revisit and descend unto the foundations of his knowledge and consent ; and so transplant it into another, as it grew in his own mind. 30 For it is in knowledges as it is in plants : if you mean to use the plant, it is no matter for the roots ; but if you mean to

remove it to grow, then it is more assured to rest upon roots than slips : so the delivery of knowledges (as it is now used) is as of fair bodies of trees without the roots ; good for the carpenter, but not for the planter. But if you will have sciences grow, it is less matter for the shaft or body of the tree, so you look well to the taking up of the roots. Of which kind of delivery the method of the mathematics, in that subject, hath some shadow : but generally I see it neither put in ure nor put in inquisition, and therefore note it for deficient.

Double Nature of Good

THERE is formed in every thing a double nature of good : the one, as every thing is a total or substantive in itself ; the other, as it is a part or member of a greater body : whereof the latter is in degree the greater and the worthier, because it tendeth to the conservation of a more general form. Therefore we see the iron in particular sympathy moveth to the loadstone ; but yet if it exceed a certain quantity, it forsaketh the affection to the loadstone, and like a good patriot moveth to the earth, which is the region
 20 and country of massy bodies : so may we go forward, and see that water and massy bodies move to the centre of the earth ; but rather than to suffer a divulsion in the continuance of nature, they will move upwards from the centre of the earth, forsaking their duty to the earth in regard of their duty to the world. This double nature of good, and the comparative thereof, is much more engraven upon man, if he degenerate not : unto whom the conservation of duty to the public ought to be much more precious than the conservation of life and being : according to that memorable
 30 speech of Pompeius Magnus, when being in commission of purveyance for a famine at Rome, and being dissuaded with great vehemency and instance by his friends about

him, that he should not hazard himself to sea in an extremity of weather, he said only to them, *Necesse est ut cam, non ut vivam*. But it may be truly affirmed that there was never any philosophy, religion, or other discipline, which did so plainly and highly exalt the good which is communicative, and depress the good which is private and particular, as the Holy Faith ; well declaring that it was the same God that gave the Christian law to men, who gave those laws of nature to inanimate creatures that we spake of before ; for we read that the elected saints of God have wished them-
selves anathematized and razed out of the book of life, in
an ecstasy of charity and infinite feeling of communion.

This being set down and strongly planted, doth judge and determine most of the controversies wherein moral philosophy is conversant. For first, it decideth the question touching the preferment of the contemplative or active life, and decideth it against Aristotle. For all the reasons which he bringeth for the contemplative are private, and respecting the pleasure and dignity of a man's self (in which respects no question the contemplative life hath the pre-
eminence), not much unlike to that comparison, which Pythagoras made for the gracing and magnifying of philosophy and contemplation : who being asked what he was, answered, *That if Hiero were ever at the Olympian games, he knew the manner, that some came to try their fortune for the prizes, and some came as merchants to utter their commodities, and some came to make good cheer and meet their friends, and some came to look on ; and that he was one of them that came to look on*. But men must know, that in this theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and
angels to be lookers on. Neither could the like question ever have been received in the church, notwithstanding their *Pretiosa in oculis Domini mors sanctorum ejus*, by which place they would exalt their civil death and regular professions, but upon this defence, that the monastical life

is not simple contemplative, but performeth the duty either of incessant prayers and supplications, which hath been truly esteemed as an office in the church, or else of writing or taking instructions for writing concerning the law of God, as Moses did when he abode so long in the mount. And so we see Henoch the seventh from Adam, who was the first contemplative and walked with God, yet did also endow the church with prophecy, which Saint Jude citeth. But for contemplation which should be finished in itself, without casting beams upon society, assuredly divinity knoweth it not.

Private and Public Good

HAVING therefore deduced the good of man which is private and particular, as far as seemeth fit, we will now return to that good of man which respecteth and beholdeth society, which we may term duty ; because the term of duty is more proper to a mind well framed and disposed towards others, as the term of virtue is applied to a mind well formed and composed in itself : though neither can a man understand virtue without some relation to society, nor duty without an inward disposition. This part may seem at first to pertain to science civil and politic : but not if it be well observed. For it concerneth the regiment and government of every man over himself, and not over others. And as in architecture the direction of framing the posts, beams, and other parts of building, is not the same with the manner of joining them and erecting the building ; and in mechanicals, the direction how to frame an instrument or engine, is not the same with the manner of setting it on work and employing it ; and yet nevertheless in expressing of the one you incidently express the aptness towards the other ; so the doctrine of conjugation of men in society differeth from that of their conformity thereunto.

This part of duty is subdivided into two parts : the

common duty of every man, as a man or member of a state ; the other, the respective or social duty of every man, in his profession, vocation, and place. The first of these is extant and well laboured, as hath been said. The second likewise I may report rather dispersed than deficient ; which manner of dispersed writing in this kind of argument I acknowledge to be best. For who can take upon him to write of the proper duty, virtue, challenge, and right of every several vocation, profession, and place ? For although sometimes a looker on may see more than a gamester, and there be a 10 proverb more arrogant than sound, *That the vale best discovereth the hill* ; yet there is small doubt but that men can write best and most really and materially in their own professions ; and that the writing of speculative men of active matter for the most part doth seem to men of experience, as Phormio's argument of the wars seemed to Hannibal, to be but dreams and dotage. Only there is one vice which accompanieth them that write in their own professions, that they magnify them in excess. But generally it were to be wished (as that which would 20 make learning indeed solid and fruitful) that active men would or could become writers.

The Affections

ANOTHER article of this knowledge is the inquiry touching the affections ; for as in medicining of the body, it is in order first to know the divers complexions and constitutions ; secondly, the diseases ; and lastly, the cures : so in medicining of the mind, after knowledge of the divers characters of men's natures, it followeth in order to know the diseases and infirmities of the mind, which are no other than the perturbations and distempers of the affections. For as the 30 ancient politiques in popular estates were wont to compare the people to the sea, and the orators to the winds ; because as the sea would of itself be calm and quiet, if the winds did

not move and trouble it ; so the people would be peaceable and tractable, if the seditious orators did not set them in working and agitation : so it may be fitly said, that the mind in the nature thereof would be temperate and stayed, if the affections, as winds, did not put it into tumult and perturbation. And here again I find strange, as before, that Aristotle should have written divers volumes of Ethics, and never handled the affections, which is the principal subject thereof ; and yet in his Rhetorics, where they are
10 considered but collaterally and in a second degree (as they may be moved by speech), he findeth place for them, and handleth them well for the quantity ; but where their true place is, he pretermitteth them. For it is not his disputations about pleasure and pain that can satisfy this inquiry, no more than he that should generally handle the nature of light can be said to handle the nature of colours ; for pleasure and pain are to the particular affections, as light is to particular colours. Better travails, I suppose, had the Stoics taken in this argument, as far as I can gather by
20 that which we have at second hand. But yet it is like it was after their manner, rather in subtilty of definitions (which in a subject of this nature are but curiosities), than in active and ample descriptions and observations. So likewise I find some particular writings of an elegant nature, touching some of the affections ; as of anger, of comfort upon adverse accidents, of tenderness of countenance, and other. But the poets and writers of histories are the best doctors of this knowledge ; where we may find painted forth with great life, how affections are kindled and incited ; and how pacified and refrained ; and how again contained
30 from act and further degree ; how they disclose themselves ; how they work ; how they vary ; how they gather and fortify ; how they are enwrapped one within another ; and how they do fight and encounter one with another ; and other the like particularities. Amongst the which this last is of

special use in moral and civil matters ; how, I say, to set affection against affection, and to master one by another ; even as we use to hunt beast with beast, and fly bird with bird, which otherwise percase we could not so easily recover : upon which foundation is erected that excellent use of *praemium* and *poena*, whereby civil states consist : employing the predominant affections of fear and hope, for the suppressing and bridling the rest. For as in the government of states it is sometimes necessary to bridle one faction with another, so it is in the government within.

10

The Good Hours of the Mind

BUT there is a kind of culture of the mind that seemeth yet more accurate and elaborate than the rest, and is built upon this ground ; that the minds of all men are at some times in a state more perfect, and at other times in a state more depraved. The purpose therefore of this practice is to fix and cherish the good hours of the mind, and to obliterate and take forth the evil. The fixing of the good hath been practised by two means, vows or constant resolutions, and observances or exercises ; which are not to be regarded so much in themselves, as because 20 they keep the mind in continual obedience. The obliteration of the evil hath been practised by two means, some kind of redemption or expiation of that which is past, and an inception or account *de novo* for the time to come. But this part seemeth sacred and religious, and justly ; for all good moral philosophy (as was said) is but an hand-maid to religion.

Wherefore we will conclude with that last point, which is of all other means the most compendious and summary, and again, the most noble and effectual to the reducing of 30 the mind unto virtue and good estate ; which is, the electing and propounding unto a man's self good and virtuous ends of his life, such as may be in a reasonable sort

within his compass to attain. For if these two things be supposed, that a man set before him honest and good ends, and again, that he be resolute, constant, and true unto them ; it will follow that he shall mould himself into all virtue at once. And this is indeed like the work of nature ; whereas the other course is like the work of the hand. For as when a carver makes an image, he shapes only that part whereupon he worketh ; as if he be upon the face, that part which shall be the body is but a rude stone still, till such
10 times as he comes to it. But contrariwise when nature makes a flower or living creature, she formeth rudiments of all the parts at one time. So in obtaining virtue by habit, while a man practiseth temperance, he doth not profit much to fortitude, nor the like : but when he dedicateth and applieth himself to good ends, look, what virtue soever the pursuit and passage towards those ends doth commend unto him, he is invested of a precedent disposition to conform himself thereunto. Which state of mind Aristotle doth excellently express himself, that it ought not to be
20 called virtuous, but divine : his words are these : *Immanitati autem consentaneum est opponere eam, quae supra humanitatem est, heroicam sive divinam virtutem* : and a little after, *Nam ut ferae neque vitium neque virtus est, sic neque Dei : sed hic quidem status altius quiddam virtute est, ille aliud quiddam a vitio*. And therefore we may see what celsitude of honour Plinius Secundus attributeth to Trajan in his funeral oration ; where he said, *That men needed to make no other prayers to the gods, but that they would continue as good lords to them as Trajan had been* ; as if he had not
30 been only an imitation of divine nature, but a pattern of it. But these be heathen and profane passages, having but a shadow of that divine state of mind, which religion and the holy faith doth conduct men unto, by imprinting upon their souls charity, which is excellently called the bond of perfection, because it comprehendeth and fasteneth all

virtues together. And as it is elegantly said by Menander of vain love, which is but a false imitation of divine love, *Amor melior Sophista lacvo ad humanam vitam*, that love teacheth a man to carry himself better than the sophist or preceptor, which he calleth left-handed, because, with all his rules and preceptions, he cannot form a man so dexteriously, nor with that facility to prize himself and govern himself, as love can do : so certainly, if a man's mind be truly inflamed with charity, it doth work him suddenly into greater perfection than all the doctrine of morality can 10 do, which is but a sophist in comparison of the other. Nay further, as Xenophon observed truly, that all other affections, though they raise the mind, yet they do it by distorting and uncomeliness of ecstasies or excesses ; but only love doth exalt the mind, and nevertheless at the same instant doth settle and compose it : so in all other excellencies, though they advance nature, yet they are subject to excess. Only charity admitteth no excess. For so we see, aspiring to be like God in power, the angels transgressed and fell ; *Ascendam, et ero similis altissimo* : by aspiring 20 to be like God in knowledge, man transgressed and fell ; *Eritis sicut Dii, scientes bonum et malum* : but by aspiring to a similitude of God in goodness or love, neither man nor angel ever transgressed, or shall transgress.

To prevail in Fortune

WHEREIN it may appear at the first a new and unwonted argument to teach men how to raise and make their fortune ; a doctrine wherein every man perchance will be ready to yield himself a disciple, till he see the difficulty : for fortune layeth as heavy impositions as virtue ; and it is as hard and severe a thing to be a true politique, as to be truly moral. 30 But the handling hereof concerneth learning greatly, both in honour and in substance. In honour, because pragmatical

men may not go away with an opinion that learning is like a lark, that can mount, and sing, and please herself, and nothing else ; but may know that she holdeth as well of the hawk, that can soar aloft, and can also descend and strike upon the prey. In substance, because it is the perfect law of inquiry of truth, that nothing be in the globe of matter, which should not be likewise in the globe of crystal, or form ; that is, that there be not any thing in being and action, which should not be drawn and collected into contemplation and doctrine. Neither doth learning admire or esteem of this architecture of fortune, otherwise than as of an inferior work : for no man's fortune can be an end worthy of his being ; and many times the worthiest men do abandon their fortune willingly for better respects : but nevertheless fortune as an organ of virtue and merit deserveth the consideration.

First therefore the precept which I conceive to be most summary towards the prevailing in fortune, is to obtain that window which Momus did require : who seeing in the frame of man's heart such angles and recesses, found fault there was not a window to look into them ; that is, to procure good informations of particulars touching persons, their natures, their desires and ends, their customs and fashions, their helps and advantages, and whereby they chiefly stand : so again their weaknesses and disadvantages, and where they lie most open and obnoxious ; their friends, factions, dependences ; and again their opposites, enviers, competitors, their moods and times, *Sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras* ; their principles, rules, and observations, and the like : and this not only of persons, but of actions ; what are on foot from time to time, and how they are conducted, favoured, opposed, and how they import, and the like. For the knowledge of present actions is not only material in itself, but without it also the knowledge of persons is very erroneous : for men change with the actions ;

and whiles they are in pursuit they are one, and when they return to their nature they are another.

Knowledge of Men

BUT to all this part of inquiry the most compendious way resteth in three things : the first, to have general acquaintance and inwardness with those which have general acquaintance and look most into the world ; and specially according to the diversity of business, and the diversity of persons, to have privacy and conversation with some one friend at least which is perfect and well intelligenced in every several kind. The second is to keep a good ¹⁰ mediocrity in liberty of speech and secrecy ; in most things liberty : secrecy where it importeth ; for liberty of speech inviteth and provoketh liberty to be used again, and so bringeth much to a man's knowledge ; and secrecy on the other side induceth trust and inwardness. The last is the reducing of a man's self to this watchful and serene habit, as to make account and purpose, in every conference and action, as well to observe as to act. For as Epictetus would have a philosopher in every particular action to say to himself, *Et hoc volo, et etiam institutum servare* ; so a politic man ²⁰ in everything should say to himself, *Et hoc volo, ac etiam aliquid addiscere*. I have stayed the longer upon this precept of obtaining good information, because it is a main part by itself, which answereth to all the rest. But, above all things, caution must be taken that men have a good stay and hold of themselves, and that this much knowing do not draw on much meddling ; for nothing is more unfortunate than light and rash intermeddling in many matters. So that this variety of knowledge tendeth in conclusion but only to this, to make a better and freer ³⁰ choice of those actions which may concern us, and to conduct them with the less error and the more dexterity.

The Proportion of Things

ANOTHER precept of this architecture of fortune is to accustom our minds to judge of the proportion or value of things, as they conduce and are material to our particular ends : and that to do substantially, and not superficially. For we shall find the logical part (as I may term it) of some men's minds good, but the mathematical part erroneous ; that is, they can well judge of consequences, but not of proportions and comparison, preferring things of show and sense before things of substance and effect. So some fall
10 in love with access to princes, others with popular fame and applause, supposing they are things of great purchase, when in many cases they are but matters of envy, peril, and impediment. So some measure things according to the labour and difficulty or assiduity which are spent about them ; and think, if they be ever moving, that they must needs advance and proceed ; as Caesar saith in a despising manner of Cato the second, when he describeth how laborious and indefatigable he was to no great purpose, *Hæc omnia magno studio agebat*. So in most things men
20 are ready to abuse themselves in thinking the greatest means to be best, when it should be the fittest.

As for the true marshalling of men's pursuits towards their fortune, as they are more or less material, I hold them to stand thus. First the amendment of their own minds. For the remove of the impediments of the mind will sooner clear the passages of fortune, than the obtaining fortune will remove the impediments of the mind. In the second place I set down wealth and means ; which I know most men would have placed first, because of the general use
30 which it beareth towards all variety of occasions. But that opinion I may condemn with like reason as Machiavel doth that other, that moneys were the sinews of the wars ; whereas (saith he) the true sinews of the wars are the sinews

of men's arms, that is, a valiant, populous, and military nation : and he voucheth aptly the authority of Solon, who, when Croesus showed him his treasury of gold, said to him, that if another came that had better iron, he would be master of his gold. In like manner it may be truly affirmed, that it is not moneys that are the sinews of fortune, but it is the sinews and steel of men's minds, wit, courage, audacity, resolution, temper, industry, and the like. In the third place I set down reputation, because of the peremptory tides and currents it hath ; which, if they be not taken in 10 their due time, are seldom recovered, it being extreme hard to play an after game of reputation. And lastly I place honour, which is more easily won by any of the other three, much more by all, than any of them can be purchased by honour. To conclude this precept, as there is order and priority in matter, so is there in time, the preposterous placing whereof is one of the commonest errors : while men fly to their ends when they should intend their beginnings, and do not take things in order of time as they come on, but marshal them according to greatness and not 20 according to instance ; not observing the good precept, *Quod nunc instat agamus.*

The Prelude Ended

THUS have I concluded this portion of learning touching civil knowledge ; and with civil knowledge have concluded human philosophy ; and with human philosophy, philosophy in general. And being now at some pause, looking back into that I have passed through, this writing seemeth to me (*si nunquam fallit imago*), as far as a man can judge of his own work, not much better than that noise or sound which musicians make while they are in tuning their in- 30 struments : which is nothing pleasant to hear, but yet is a cause why the music is sweeter afterwards. So have I been content to tune the instruments of the Muses, that

they may play that have better hands. And surely, when I set before me the condition of these times, in which learning hath made her third visitation or circuit in all the qualities thereof ; as the excellency and vivacity of the wits of this age ; the noble helps and lights which we have by the travails of ancient writers ; the art of printing, which communicateth books to men of all fortunes ; the openness of the world by navigation, which hath disclosed multitudes of experiments, and a mass of natural history ; the
10 leisure wherewith these times abound, not employing men so generally in civil business, as the states of Grecia did, in respect of their popularity, and the state of Rome, in respect of the greatness of their monarchy ; the present disposition of these times at this instant to peace ; the consumption of all that ever can be said in controversies of religion, which have so much diverted men from other sciences ; the perfection of your Majesty's learning, which as a phoenix may call whole vollies of wits to follow you ; and the inseparable propriety of time, which is ever more
20 and more to disclose truth ; I cannot but be raised to this persuasion that this third period of time will far surpass that of the Grecian and Roman learning : only if men will know their own strength, and their own weakness both ; and take, one from the other, light of invention, and not fire of contradiction ; and esteem of the inquisition of truth as of an enterprise, and not as of a quality or ornament ; and employ wit and magnificence to things of worth and excellency, and not to things vulgar and of popular estimation. As for my labours, if any man shall please
30 himself or others in the reprehension of them, they shall make that ancient and patient request, *Verbera, sed audi* ; let men reprehend them, so they observe and weigh them. For the appeal is lawful (though it may be it shall not be needful) from the first cogitations of men to their second, and from the nearer times to the times further off.

NEW
ATLANTIS,
A Worke vnfinished.

Written by the Right Honourable, FRANCIS
Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.

Published, with *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1627

The Strangers' House

THE Strangers' House is a fair and spacious house, built of brick, of somewhat a bluer colour than our brick; and with handsome windows, some of glass, some of a kind of cambric oiled. He brought us first into a fair parlour above stairs, and then asked us, what number of persons we were? and how many sick? We answered, we were in all (sick and whole) one and fifty persons, whereof our sick were seventeen. He desired us to have patience a little, and to

stay till he came back to us, which was about an hour after ; and then he led us to see the chambers which were provided for us, being in number nineteen. They having cast it (as it seemeth) that four of those chambers, which were better than the rest, might receive four of the principal men of our company ; and lodge them alone by themselves ; and the other fifteen chambers were to lodge us, two and two together. The chambers were handsome and cheerful chambers, and furnished civilly. Then he led us to a long gallery,
10 like a dorture, where he showed us all along the one side (for the other side was but wall and window) seventeen cells, very neat ones, having partitions of cedar wood. Which gallery and cells, being in all forty (many more than we needed), were instituted as an infirmary for sick persons. And he told us withal, that as any of our sick waxed well, he might be removed from his cell to a chamber : for which purpose there were set forth ten spare chambers, besides the number we spake of before. This done, he brought us back to the parlour, and lifting up his cane a little (as they
20 do when they give any charge or command), said to us, ‘ Ye are to know that the custom of the land requireth, that after this day and to-morrow (which we give you for removing your people from your ship), you are to keep within doors for three days. But let it not trouble you, nor do not think yourselves restrained, but rather left to your ease and rest. You shall want nothing, and there are six of our people appointed to attend you for any business you may have abroad.’ We gave him thanks with all affection and respect, and said, ‘ God surely is manifested in this land.’
30 We offered him also twenty pistolets ; but he smiled, and only said : ‘ What ? twice paid ! ’ And so he left us.

Soon after our dinner was served in ; which was right good viands, both for bread and meat : better than any collegiate diet that I have known in Europe. We had also drink of three sorts, all wholesome and good ; wine of the

grape ; a drink of grain, such as is with us our ale, but more clear ; and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country ; a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink. Besides, there were brought in to us great store of those scarlet oranges for our sick ; which (they said) were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. There was given us also a box of small grey or whitish pills, which they wished our sick should take, one of the pills every night before sleep ; which (they said) would hasten their recovery.

The next day, after that our trouble of carriage and ¹⁰ removing of our men and goods out of our ship was somewhat settled and quiet, I thought good to call our company together, and when they were assembled, said unto them, ' My dear friends, let us know ourselves, and how it standeth with us. We are men cast on land, as Jonas was out of the whale's belly, when we were as buried in the deep ; and now we are on land, we are but between death and life, for we are beyond both the Old World and the New ; and whether ever we shall see Europe, God only knoweth. It is a kind of miracle hath brought us hither, and it must be little less ²⁰ that shall bring us hence. Therefore in regard of our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways. Besides we are come here amongst a Christian people, full of piety and humanity : let us not bring that confusion of face upon ourselves, as to show our vices or unworthiness before them. Yet there is more, for they have by commandment (though in form of courtesy) cloistered us within these walls for three days : who knoweth whether it be not to take some taste of our manners and conditions ? And if ³⁰ they find them bad, to banish us straightways ; if good, to give us further time. For these men that they have given us for attendance, may withal have an eye upon us. Therefore, for God's love, and as we love the weal of our souls and bodies, let us so behave ourselves, as we may be at peace with

God, and may find grace in the eyes of this people.' Our company with one voice thanked me for my good admonition, and promised me to live soberly and civilly, and without giving any the least occasion of offence. So we spent our three days joyfully, and without care, in expectation what would be done with us when they were expired. During which time, we had every hour joy of the amendment of our sick, who thought themselves cast into some divine pool of healing, they mended so kindly and so fast.

- 10 The morrow after our three days were past, there came to us a new man, that we had not seen before, clothed in blue as the former was, save that his turban was white with a small red cross on the top. He had also a tippet of fine linen. At his coming in, he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad. We of our parts saluted him in a very lowly and submissive manner ; as looking that from him we should receive sentence of life or death. He desired to speak with some few of us. Whereupon six of us only
- 20 office Governor of this House of Strangers, and by vocation I am a Christian priest ; and therefore am come to you to offer you my service, both as strangers, and chiefly as Christians. Some things I may tell you, which I think you will not be unwilling to hear. The State hath given you licence to stay on land for the space of six weeks : and let it not trouble you, if your occasions ask further time, for the law in this point is not precise ; and I do not doubt but myself shall be able to obtain for you such further time as shall be convenient. Ye shall also understand, that the
- 30 Strangers' House is at this time rich, and much aforehand ; for it hath laid up revenue these thirty-seven years : for so long it is since any stranger arrived in this part : and therefore take ye no care ; the State will defray you all the time you stay. Neither shall you stay one day the less for that. As for any merchandize ye have brought, ye shall be

well used, and have your return, either in merchandize or in gold and silver : for to us it is all one. And if you have any other request to make, hide it not ; for ye shall find we will not make your countenance to fall by the answer ye shall receive. Only this I must tell you, that none of you must go above a karan (that is with them a mile and a half) from the walls of the city, without especial leave.'

We answered, after we had looked awhile one upon another, admiring this gracious and parent-like usage, that we could not tell what to say, for we wanted words to 10 express our thanks ; and his noble free offers left us nothing to ask. It seemed to us, that we had before us a picture of our salvation in Heaven ; for we that were a while since in the jaws of death, were now brought into a place where we found nothing but consolations. For the commandment laid upon us, we would not fail to obey it, though it was impossible but our hearts should be inflamed to tread further upon this happy and holy ground. We added, that our tongues should first cleave to the roofs of our mouths, ere we should forget, either his reverend person, or this 20 whole nation, in our prayers. We also most humbly besought him to accept of us as his true servants, by as just a right as ever men on earth were bounden ; laying and presenting both our persons and all we had at his feet. He said he was a priest, and looked for a priest's reward ; which was our brotherly love, and the good of our souls and bodies. So he went from us, not without tears of tenderness in his eyes, and left us also confused with joy and kindness, saying amongst ourselves that we were come into a land of angels, which did appear to us daily, and prevent us with 30 comforts, which we thought not of, much less expected.

The next day, about ten of the clock, the Governor came to us again, and after salutations, said familiarly, that he was come to visit us ; and called for a chair, and sat him down ; and we, being some ten of us (the rest were of the

meaner sort, or else gone abroad), sat down with him ; and when we were set, he began thus : ‘ We of this island of Bensalem (for so they called it in their language) have this : that by means of our solitary situation, and of the laws of secrecy, which we have for our travellers, and our rare admission of strangers, we know well most part of the habitable world, and are ourselves unknown. Therefore because he that knoweth least is fitted to ask questions, it is more reason, for the entertainment of the time, that ye
10 ask me questions, than that I ask you.’

We answered, that we humbly thanked him, that he would give us leave so to do : and that we conceived, by the taste we had already, that there was no worldly thing on earth more worthy to be known than the state of that happy land. But above all (we said) since that we were met from the several ends of the world, and hoped assuredly that we should meet one day in the kingdom of Heaven (for that we were both part Christians), we desired to know
20 (in respect that land was so remote, and so divided by vast and unknown seas from the land where our Saviour walked on earth) who was the apostle of that nation, and how it was converted to the faith ? It appeared in his face, that he took great contentment in this our question ; he said, ‘ Ye knit my heart to you, by asking this question in the first place : for it sheweth that you first seek the kingdom of Heaven : and I shall gladly, and briefly, satisfy your demand.

‘ About twenty years after the Ascension of our Saviour it came to pass, that there was seen by the people of Renfusa
30 (a city upon the eastern coast of our island), within night, (the night was cloudy and calm), as it might be some mile in the sea, a great pillar of light ; not sharp, but in form of a column, or cylinder, rising from the sea, a great way up towards Heaven ; and on the top of it was seen a large cross of light, more bright and resplendent than the body

of the pillar. Upon which so strange a spectacle the people of the city gathered apace together upon the sands, to wonder ; and so after put themselves into a number of small boats to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar they found themselves all bound, and could go no further, yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer : so as the boats stood all as in a theatre, beholding this light, as an heavenly sign. It so fell out, that there was in one of the boats one of our wise men, of the Society of 10 Salomon's House ; which house or college, my good brethren, is the very eye of this kingdom, who having awhile attentively and devoutly viewed and contemplated this pillar and cross, fell down upon his face ; and then raised himself upon his knees, and lifting up his hands to Heaven, made his prayers in this manner :

“ Lord God of Heaven and Earth ; Thou hast vouchsafed of Thy grace, to those of our order, to know Thy works of creation, and the secrets of them ; and to discern (as far as appertaineth to the generations of men) between divine 20 miracles, works of Nature, works of art, and impostures and illusions of all sorts. I do here acknowledge and testify before this people, that the thing which we now see before our eyes is Thy finger, and a true miracle. And forasmuch as we learn in our books that Thou never workest miracles, but to a divine and excellent end (for the laws of nature are Thine own laws, and thou exceedest them not but upon great cause), we most humbly beseech thee to prosper this great sign, and to give us the interpretation and use of it in mercy ; which Thou dost in some part secretly promise, by 30 sending it unto us.”

‘ When he had made his prayer, he presently found the boat he was in movable and unbound ; whereas all the rest remained still fast ; and taking that for an assurance of leave to approach, he caused the boat to be softly and with

silence rowed towards the pillar. But ere he came near it, the pillar and cross of light broke up, and cast itself abroad, as it were, into a firmament of many stars, which also vanished soon after, and there was nothing left to be seen but a small ark, or chest of cedar, dry, and not wet at all with water, though it swam. And in the fore-end of it, which was towards him, grew a small green branch of palm ; and when the wise man had taken it with all reverence into his boat, it opened of itself, and there were found in it a book and
10 a letter, both written in fine parchment, and wrapped in sindons of linen. The book contained all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, according as you have them (for we know well what the Churches with you receive), and the Apocalypse itself ; and some other books of the New Testament, which were not at that time written, were nevertheless in the book. And for the letter, it was in these words :

‘ “ I Bartholomew, a servant of the Highest, and apostle of Jesus Christ, was warned by an angel that appeared to
20 me in a vision of glory, that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea. Therefore I do testify and declare unto that people where God shall ordain this ark to come to land, that in the same day is come unto them salvation and peace, and goodwill, from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus.”

‘ There was also in both these writings, as well the book as the letter, wrought a great miracle, conform to that of the apostles, in the original gift of tongues. For there being at that time, in this land, Hebrews, Persians and Indians,
30 besides the natives, every one read upon the book and letter, as if they had been written in his own language. And thus was this land saved from infidelity (as the remain of the Old World was from water) by an ark, through the apostolical and miraculous evangelism of St. Bartholomew.’ And here he paused, and a messenger came, and

called him forth from us. So this was all that passed in that conference.

The next day, the same Governor came again to us, immediately after dinner, and excused himself, saying, that the day before he was called from us somewhat abruptly, but now he would make us amends, and spend time with us, if we held his company and conference agreeable. We answered, that we held it so agreeable and pleasing to us, as we forgot both dangers past, and fears to come, for the time we heard him speak ; and that we thought an ¹⁰ hour spent with him was worth years of our former life. He bowed himself a little to us, and after we were set again, he said, ' Well, the questions are on your part.'

One of our number said, after a little pause, that there was a matter we were no less desirous to know than fearful to ask, lest we might presume too far. But encouraged by his rare humanity towards us (that could scarce think ourselves strangers, being his vowed and professed servants), we would take the hardiness to propound it : humbly beseeching him, if he thought it not fit to be answered, that ²⁰ he would pardon it, though he rejected it. We said, we well observed those his words, which he formerly spake, that this happy island, where we now stood, was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world, which we found to be true, considering they had the languages of Europe, and knew much of our state and business ; and yet we in Europe (notwithstanding all the remote discoveries and navigations of this last age) never heard any of the least inkling or glimpse of this island. This we found wonderful strange ; for that all nations have interknowledge one of ³⁰ another, either by voyage into foreign parts, or by strangers that come to them ; and though the traveller into a foreign country doth commonly know more by the eye than he that stayeth at home can by relation of the traveller ; yet both ways suffice to make a mutual knowledge, in some degree,

on both parts. But for this island, we never heard tell of any ship of theirs that had been seen to arrive upon any shore of Europe ; no, nor of either the East or West Indies, nor yet of any ship of any other part of the world, that had made return from them. And yet the marvel rested not in this ; for the situation of it (as his lordship said) in the secret conclave of such a vast sea mought cause it. But then, that they should have knowledge of the languages, books, affairs, of those that lie such a distance from them, 10 it was a thing we could not tell what to make of ; for that it seemed to us a condition and propriety of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open, and as in a light to them.

At this speech the Governor gave a gracious smile and said, that we did well to ask pardon for this question we now asked, for that it imported, as if we thought this land a land of magicians, that sent forth spirits of the air into all parts, to bring them news and intelligence of other countries. It was answered by us all, in all possible humbleness, but 20 yet with a countenance taking knowledge, that we knew he spake it but merrily ; that we were apt enough to think there was somewhat supernatural in this island, but yet rather as angelical than magical. But to let his lordship know truly what it was that made us tender and doubtful to ask this question, it was not any such conceit, but because we remembered he had given a touch in his former speech that this land had laws of secrecy touching strangers. To this he said, ‘ You remember it aright ; and therefore in that I shall say to you, I must reserve some particulars, 30 which it is not lawful for me to reveal, but there will be enough left to give you satisfaction.

‘ You shall understand (that which perhaps you will scarce think credible) that about three thousand years ago, or somewhat more, the navigation of the world (especially for remote voyages) was greater than at this day. Do not

think with yourselves, that I know not how much it is increased with you, within these six-score years ; I know it well, and yet I say, greater then than now ; whether it was, that the example of the Ark, that saved the remnant of men from the universal deluge, gave men confidence to adventure upon the waters, or what it was ; but such is the truth. The Phoenicians, and specially the Tyrians, had great fleets ; so had the Carthaginians their colony, which is yet further west. Toward the east the shipping of Egypt, and of Palestine, was likewise great. China also, and the 10 great Atlantis (that you call America), which have now but junks and canoas, abounded then in tall ships. This island (as appeareth by faithful registers of those times) had then fifteen hundred strong ships, of great content. Of all this there is with you sparing memory, or none ; but we have large knowledge thereof.

‘ At that time, this land was known and frequented by the ships and vessels of all the nations before named. And (as it cometh to pass) they had many times men of other countries, that were no sailors, that came with them ; as 20 Persians, Chaldeans, Arabians, so as almost all nations of might and fame resorted hither ; of whom we have some stirps and little tribes with us at this day. And for our own ships, they went sundry voyages, as well to your straits, which you call the Pillars of Hercules, as to other parts in the Atlantic and Mediterranean Seas ; as to Paguin (which is the same with Cambaline) and Quinzy, upon the Oriental Seas, as far as to the borders of the East Tartary.

‘ At the same time, and an age after or more, the inhabitants of the great Atlantis did flourish. For though the 30 narration and description which is made by a great man with you, that the descendants of Neptune planted there, and of the magnificent temple, palace, city, and hill ; and the manifold streams of goodly navigable rivers (which as so many chains environed the same site and

temple) ; and the several degrees of ascent, whereby men did climb up to the same, as if it had been a Scala Caeli ; be all poetical and fabulous ; yet so much is true, that the said country of Atlantis, as well that of Peru, then called Coya, as that of Mexico, then named Tyrambel, were mighty and proud kingdoms, in arms, shipping, and riches : so mighty as at one time (or at least within the space of ten years), they both made two great expeditions ; they of Tyrambel through the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea ; and they
10 of Coya, through the South Sea upon this our island ; and for the former of these, which was into Europe, the same author amongst you (as it seemeth) had some relation from the Egyptian priest, whom he citeth. For assuredly such a thing there was. But whether it were the ancient Athenians that had the glory of the repulse and resistance of those forces, I can say nothing ; but certain it is there never came back either ship or man from that voyage. Neither had the other voyage of those of Coya upon us had better fortune, if they had not met with enemies of greater clemency. For
20 the king of this island, by name Altabin, a wise man and a great warrior, knowing well both his own strength and that of his enemies, handled the matter so, as he cut off their land forces from their ships, and entailed both their navy and their camp with a greater power than theirs, both by sea and land, and compelled them to render themselves without striking stroke ; and after they were at his mercy, contenting himself only with their oath, that they should no more bear arms against him, dismissed them all in safety. But the divine revenge overtook not long after those
30 proud enterprises. For within less than the space of one hundred years the great Atlantis was utterly lost and destroyed ; not by a great earthquake, as your man saith (for that whole tract is little subject to earthquakes), but by a particular deluge or inundation, those countries having at this day far greater rivers and far higher mountains to

pour down waters, than any part of the Old World. But it is true that the same inundation was not deep, not past forty foot in most places from the ground, so that although it destroyed man and beast generally, yet some few wild inhabitants of the wood escaped. Birds also were saved by flying to the high trees and woods. For as for men, although they had buildings in many places higher than the depth of the water, yet that inundation, though it were shallow, had a long continuance, whereby they of the vale that were not drowned perished for want of food, and other things ¹⁰ necessary.

‘ So as marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people ; for you must account your inhabitants of America as a young people, younger a thousand years at the least than the rest of the world, for that there was so much time between the universal flood and their particular inundation. For the poor remnant of human seed which remained in their mountains peopled the country again slowly, by little and little, and being simple and savage people (not like Noah and his sons, which ²⁰ was the chief family of the earth) they were not able to leave letters, arts, and civility to their posterity ; and having likewise in their mountainous habitations been used (in respect of the extreme cold of those regions) to clothe themselves with the skins of tigers, bears and great hairy goats, that they have in those parts ; when after they came down into the valley, and found the intolerable heats which are there, and knew no means of lighter apparel, they were forced to begin the custom of going naked, which continueth at this day. Only they take great pride and delight in the ³⁰ feathers of birds, and this also they took from those their ancestors of the mountains, who were invited unto it, by the infinite flight of birds that came up to the high grounds, while the waters stood below. So you see, by this main accident of time, we lost our traffic with the Americans,

with whom of all others, in regard they lay nearest to us, we had most commerce.

‘ As for the other parts of the world, it is most manifest that in the ages following (whether it were in respect of wars, or by a natural revolution of time) navigation did everywhere greatly decay, and specially far voyages (the rather by the use of galleys, and such vessels as could hardly brook the ocean) were altogether left and omitted. So then, that part of intercourse which could be from other nations, to
10 sail to us, you see how it hath long since ceased ; except it were by some rare accident, as this of yours. But now of the cessation of that other part of intercourse, which might be by our sailing to other nations, I must yield you some other cause. For I cannot say, if I shall say truly, but our shipping, for number, strength, mariners, pilots, and all things that appertain to navigation, is as great as ever ; and therefore why we should sit at home, I shall now give you an account by itself ; and it will draw nearer, to give you satisfaction, to your principal question.

20 ‘ There reigned in this island, about 1,900 years ago, a king, whose memory of all others we most adore ; not superstitiously, but as a divine instrument, though a mortal man : his name was Solamona ; and we esteem him as the law-giver of our nation. This king had a large heart, inscrutable for good, and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy. He therefore taking into consideration how sufficient and substantive this land was, to maintain itself without any aid at all of the foreigner ; being 5,600 miles in circuit, and of rare fertility of soil, in the greatest part
30 thereof ; and finding also the shipping of this country might be plentifully set on work, both by fishing and by transportations from port to port, and likewise by sailing unto some small islands that are not far from us, and are under the crown and laws of this State ; and recalling into his memory the happy and flourishing estate wherein this

land then was, so as it mought be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better ; though nothing wanted to his noble and heroical intentions, but only (as far as human foresight mought reach) to give perpetuity to that which was in his time so happily established. Therefore amongst his other fundamental laws of this kingdom he did ordain the interdicts and prohibitions which we have touching entrance of strangers ; which at that time (though it was after the calamity of America) was frequent ; doubting novelties and commixture of manners. It is true, ¹⁰ the like law against the admission of strangers without licence is an ancient law in the kingdom of China, and yet continued in use. But there it is a poor thing ; and hath made them a curious, ignorant, fearful, foolish nation. But our lawgiver made his law of another temper. For first, he hath preserved all points of humanity, in taking order and making provision for the relief of strangers distressed ; whereof you have tasted.'

At which speech (as reason was) we all rose up, and bowed ourselves. He went on : 20

' That king also still desiring to join humanity and policy together ; and thinking it against humanity, to detain strangers here against their wills ; and against policy, that they should return, and discover their knowledge of this estate, he took this course : he did ordain, that of the strangers that should be permitted to land, as many (at all times) mought depart as would ; but as many as would stay, should have very good conditions, and means to live from the State. Wherein he saw so far, that now in so many ages since the prohibition, we have memory not of one ship that ³⁰ ever returned, and but of thirteen persons only, at several times, that chose to return in our bottoms. What those few that returned may have reported abroad I know not. But you must think, whatsoever they have said, could be taken where they came but for a dream. Now for our travelling

from hence into parts abroad, our lawgiver thought fit altogether to restrain it. So is it not in China. For the Chineses sail where they will, or can ; which showeth, that their law of keeping out strangers is a law of pusillanimity and fear. But this restraint of ours hath one only exception, which is admirable ; preserving the good which cometh by communicating with strangers, and avoiding the hurt : and I will now open it to you. And here I shall seem a little to digress, but you will by and by find it pertinent.

- 10 ' Ye shall understand, my dear friends, that amongst the excellent acts of that king, one above all hath the pre-eminence. It was the erection and institution of an order, or society, which we call Salomon's House ; the noblest foundation, as we think, that ever was upon the earth, and the lantern of this kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some think it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Solamona's House. But the records write it as it is spoken. So as I take it to be denominate of the king of the Hebrews,
- 20 which is famous with you, and no stranger to us ; for we have some parts of his works which with you are lost ; namely, that Natural History which he wrote of all plants, from the cedar of Libanus to the moss that groweth out of the wall ; and of all things that have life and motion. This maketh me think that our king finding himself to symbolize, in many things, with that king of the Hebrews (which lived many years before him) honoured him with the title of this foundation. And I am the rather induced to be of this opinion, for that I find in ancient records, this order or
- 30 society is sometimes called Salomon's House, and sometimes the College of the Six Days' Works ; whereby I am satisfied that our excellent king had learned from the Hebrews that God had created the world, and all that therein is, within six days : and therefore he instituting that house, for the finding out of the true nature of all things

(whereby God mought have the more glory in the workmanship of them, and men the more fruit in the use of them), did give it also that second name.

‘But now to come to our present purpose. When the king had forbidden to all his people navigation into any part that was not under his crown, he made nevertheless this ordinance : that every twelve years there should be set forth out of this kingdom two ships, appointed to several voyages ; that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Salomon’s 10 House, whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed ; and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world ; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns of every kind : that the ships, after they had landed the brethren, should return ; and that the brethren should stay abroad till the new mission. Theseships are not otherwise fraught than with store of victuals, and good quantity of treasure to remain with the brethren, for the buying of such things, and reward- 20 ing of such persons, as they should think fit. Now for me to tell you how the vulgar sort of mariners are contained from being discovered at land, and how they that must be put on shore for any time, colour themselves under the names of other nations, and to what places these voyages have been designed, and what places of rendezvous are appointed for the new missions, and the like circumstances of the practice, I may not do it, neither is it much to your desire. But thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other 30 commodity of matter ; but only for God’s first creature, which was light : to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world.’

Salomon's House

‘I WILL impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Salomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Salomon's House, I will keep this order. First, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation. Secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our works. Thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned. And fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe.

‘The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and
10 secret motions of things ; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.

‘The preparations and instruments are these. We have large and deep caves of several depths : the deepest are sunk six hundred fathoms ; and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains ; so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill, and the depths of the cave, they are, some of them, above three miles deep. For we find that the depth of a hill, and the depth of a cave from the flat, is the same thing ; both remote alike from
20 the sun and heaven's beams, and from the open air. These caves we call the lower region, and we use them for all coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines, and the producing also of new artificial metals, by compositions and materials which we use, and lay there for many years. We use them also sometimes (which may seem strange) for curing of some diseases, and for prolongation of life, in some hermits that choose to live there, well accommodated of all things necessary, and indeed live very
30 long ; by whom also we learn many things.

‘We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, as the Chineses do their porcelain. But we have them in greater variety, and some of them more fine. We

also have great variety of composts and soils, for the making of the earth fruitful.

‘ We have high towers, the highest about half a mile in height, and some of them likewise set upon high mountains, so that the vantage of the hill, with the tower, is in the highest of them three miles at least. And these places we call the upper region, accounting the air between the high places and the low as a middle region. We use these towers, according to their several heights and situations, for insolation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers ¹⁰ meteors—as winds, rain, snow, hail ; and some of the fiery meteors also. And upon them, in some places, are dwellings of hermits, whom we visit sometimes, and instruct what to observe.

‘ We have great lakes, both salt and fresh, whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them also for burials of some natural bodies, for we find a difference in things buried in earth, or in air below the earth, and things buried in water. We have also pools, of which some do strain fresh water out of salt, and others by art do turn fresh water into ²⁰ salt. We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea, and some bays upon the shore for some works, wherein is required the air and vapour of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions ; and likewise engines for multiplying and enforcing of winds to set also on going divers motions.

‘ We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths, as tinted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel, brass, lead, nitre, and other minerals ; and again, we have little wells for infusions ³⁰ of many things, where the waters take the virtue quicker and better than in vessels or basins. And amongst them we have a water, which we call Water of Paradise, being by that we do to it made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.

‘ We have also great and spacious houses, where we imitate and demonstrate meteors—as snow, hail, rain, some artificial rains of bodies, and not of water, thunders, lightnings; also generations of bodies in air—as frogs, flies, and divers others.

‘ We have also certain chambers, which we call chambers of health, where we qualify the air as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases, and preservation of health.

10 ‘ We have also fair and large baths, of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases, and the restoring of man’s body from arefaction; and others for the confirming of it in strength of sinews, vital parts, and the very juice and substance of the body.

‘ We have also large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs, and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we make divers kinds of drinks, besides the vineyards. In
20 these we practise likewise all conclusions of grafting and inoculating, as well of wild-trees as fruit-trees, which produceth many effects. And we make by art, in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers, to come earlier or later than their seasons, and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do. We make them also by art greater much than their nature; and their fruit greater and sweeter, and of differing taste, smell, colour, and figure, from their nature. And many of them we so order as they become of medicinal use.

30 ‘ We have also means to make divers plants rise by mixtures of earths without seeds, and likewise to make divers new plants, differing from the vulgar, and to make one tree or plant turn into another.

‘ We have also parks, and enclosures of all sorts, of beasts and birds; which we use not only for view or rareness, but

likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby we may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man. Wherein we find many strange effects : as continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished and taken forth ; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance, and the like. We try also all poisons, and other medicines upon them, as well of chirurgery as physic. By art likewise we make them greater or taller than their kind is, and contrariwise dwarf them and stay their growth ; we make them more fruitful and bearing ¹⁰ than their kind is, and contrariwise barren and not generative. . . .

‘ We have also engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets or any engine that you have ; and to make them and multiply them more easily and with small force, by wheels and other means, and to make them stronger and more violent than yours are, exceeding your greatest cannons and basilisks. We represent also ordnance ²⁰ and instruments of war and engines of all kinds ; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wild-fires burning in water and unquenchable, also fire-works of all variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds ; we have some degrees of flying in the air. We have ships and boats for going under water and brooking of seas, also swimming-girdles and supporters. We have divers curious clocks, and other like motions of return, and some perpetual motions. We imitate also motions of living creatures by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and ser- ³⁰ pents ; we have also a great number of other various motions, strange for equality, fineness, and subtilty.

‘ We have also a mathematical-house, where are represented all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made.

‘ We have also houses of deceits of the senses, where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures and illusions, and their fallacies. And surely you will easily believe that we, that have so many things truly natural which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars deceive the senses if we would disguise those things, and labour to make them seem more miraculous. But we do hate all impostures and lies, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of
10 ignominy and fines, that they do not show any natural work or thing adorned or swelling, but only pure as it is, and without all affectation of strangeness.

‘ These are, my son, the riches of Salomon’s House.

‘ For the several employments and offices of our fellows, we have twelve that sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations (for our own we conceal), who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call Merchants of Light.

‘ We have three that collect the experiments which are
20 in all books. These we call Depredators.

‘ We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts, and also of liberal sciences, and also of practices which are not brought into arts. These we call Mystery-men.

‘ We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call Pioneers or Miners.

‘ We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms out of them. These
30 we call Compilers.

‘ We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man’s life and knowledge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of natural divinations, and the easy and clear

discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call dowry-men or Benefactors.

' Then after divers meetings and consults of our whole number, to consider of the former labours and collections, we have three that take care out of them to direct new experiments, of a higher light, more penetrating into Nature than the former. These we call Lamps.

' We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call Inoculators.

' Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call Interpreters of Nature. 10

' We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail ; besides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this we do also : we have consultations which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not : and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of 20 those which we think fit to keep secret : though some of those we do reveal sometimes to the State, and some not.

' For our ordinances and rites, we have two very long and fair galleries : in one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions : in the other we place the statuas of all principal inventors. There we have the statua of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies : also the inventor of ships : your Monk that was the inventor of ordnance and of gunpowder : the inventor of music : the inventor of letters : 30 the inventor of printing : the inventor of observations of astronomy : the inventor of works in metal : the inventor of glass : the inventor of silk of the worm : the inventor of wine : the inventor of corn and bread : the inventor of sugars : and all these by more certain tradition than

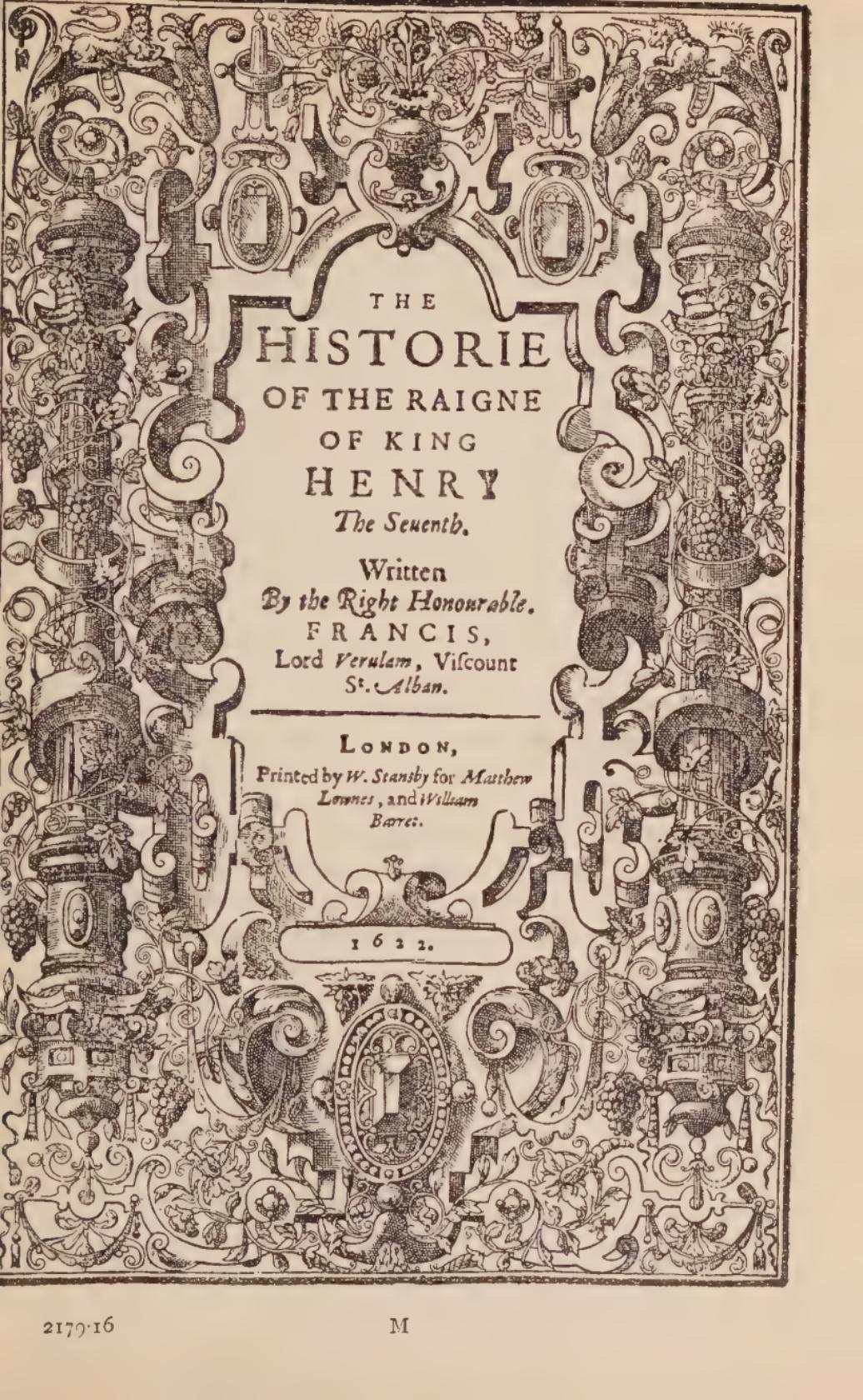
you have. Then we have divers inventors of our own, of excellent works, which since you have not seen, it were too long to make descriptions of them; and besides in the right understanding of those descriptions you might easily err. For upon every invention of value we erect a statua to the inventor, and give him a liberal and honourable reward. These statuas are some of brass, some of marble and touchstone, some of cedar and other special woods gilt and adorned; some of iron, some of silver, some of gold.

10 'We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily, of laud and thanks to God for his marvellous works. And forms of prayer, imploring His aid and blessing for the illumination of our labours, and the turning of them into good and holy uses.

'Lastly, we have circuits or visits, of divers principal cities of the kingdom; where, as it cometh to pass, we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempests,
20 earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and divers other things; and we give counsel there-upon, what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them.'

And when he had said this he stood up; and I, as I had been taught, knelt down; and he laid his right hand upon my head, and said, 'God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made. I give thee leave to publish it, for the good of other nations; for we here are in God's bosom, a land unknown.' And so he left me; having
30 assigned a value of about two thousand ducats for a bounty to me and my fellows. For they give great largesses, where they come, upon all occasions.

The rest was not perfected



THE
HISTORIE
OF THE RAIGNE
OF KING
HENRY
The Seuenib.

Written
By the Right Honourable.
FRANCIS,
Lord Verulam, Viscount
St. Alban.

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1 6 2 2.

Character of King Henry VII

THIS King (to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving) was one of the best sort of wonders ; a wonder for wise men. He had parts (both in his virtues and his fortune) not so fit for a common-place as for observation. Certainly he was religious both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear (for those times) through superstition ; so he would be blinded now and then by human policy. He advanced churchmen. He was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He
10 built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy : and yet was he a great alms-giver in secret ; which shewed that his works in public were dedicated rather to God's glory than his own. He professed always to love and seek peace ; and it was his usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world peace was sung, and when he went out of the world peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of fear or softness, for he was valiant and active ; and therefore no doubt it was truly Christian and moral.
20 Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars. Therefore would he make offers and fumes of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace should be so happy in war. For his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never unfortunate, neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war of his coming in, and the rebellions of the Earl of Lincoln and the Lord Audley, were ended by victory. The wars of France and Scotland by peaces sought at his hands. That of Brittain
30 by accident of the Duke's death. The insurrection of the Lord Lovell, and that of Perkin at Exeter and in Kent, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows. So that his fortune of arms was still inviolate. The rather sure, for

that in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects he ever went in person : sometimes reserving himself to back and second his lieutenants, but ever in action. And yet that was not merely forwardness, but partly distrust of others.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws ; which (nevertheless) was no impediment to him to work his will. For it was so handled that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his Parliament. For mint and 10 wars and martial discipline (things of absolute power) he would nevertheless bring to Parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the King was party ; save also that the counsel-table interfered too much with *meum* and *tuum*. For it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning. But in that part both of justice and policy which is the durable part, and cut as it were in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice he was also a merciful prince : as in whose time there were but three of 20 the nobility that suffered ; the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Audley, though the first two were instead of numbers in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions expiated with so little blood drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. As for the severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but a scum of people. His pardons went ever both before and after his sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and unexpected pardons with severe 30 executions : which, his wisdom considered, could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality, but either to some reason which we do not now know, or to a principle he had set unto himself, that he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the less blood he drew the more he

took of treasure: and as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches. The people (into whom there is infused for the preservation of monarchies a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers) did impute this unto Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who as
 10 it after appeared (as counsellors of ancient authority with him) did so second his humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas Empson and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him otherwise than by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only (as the first did) but shape him way to those extremities for which himself was touched with remorse at his death; and which his successor renounced, and sought to purge. This excess of his had at that time many glosses and interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions
 20 wherewith he had been vexed had made him grow to hate his people: some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs and keep them low: some, for that he would leave his son a golden fleece, some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts. But those perhaps shall come nearest the truth that fetch not their reasons so far off, but rather impute it to nature, age, peace and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit: whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great Princes
 30 abroad, it did the better by comparison set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required: and in his buildings was magnificent, but his rewards were very limited. So that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory than upon the deserts of others. He

was of an high mind and loved his own will and his own way ; as one that revered himself and would reign indeed. Had he been a private man he would have been termed proud : but in a wise Prince, it was but keeping of distance ; which indeed he did towards all ; not admitting any near or full approach either to his power or to his secrets. For he was governed by none. His Queen (notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children ; and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it) could do nothing with him. His mother he revered much, heard 10 little. For any person agreeable to him for society (such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth), he had none ; except we should account for such persons Foxe and Bray and Empson, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the instrument is much with the workman. He had nothing in him of vain-glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height ; being sensible that majesty maketh the people bow, but vain-glory boweth to them.

To his confederates abroad he was constant and just ; 20 but not open. But rather such was his inquiry and such his closeness, as they stood in the light towards him, and he stood in the dark to them ; yet without strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual communication of affairs. As for little envies or emulations upon foreign princes (which are frequent with many kings), he had never any ; but went substantially to his own business. Certain it is that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For foreigners that could not see the passages of affairs, but made their judgments upon the 30 issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife and ever aloft. It grew also from the airs which the princes and states abroad received from their ambassadors and agents here, which were attending the court in great number, whom he did not only content with courtesy, reward and

privateness, but (upon such conferences as passed with them) put them in admiration to find his universal insight into the affairs of the world, which though he did such chiefly from themselves, yet that which he had gathered from them all seemed admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms concerning his wisdom and art of rule. Nay when they were returned, they did commonly maintain intelligence with him, such a dexterity he had to impropriate to himself all foreign
 10 instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good intelligence from all parts abroad, wherein he did not only use his interest in the liegers here, and his pensioners which he had both in the court of Rome and other the Courts of Christendom, but the industry and vigilancy of his own ambassadors in foreign parts. For which purpose his instructions were ever extreme curious and articulate, and in them more articles touching inquisition than touching negotiation: requiring likewise from his ambassadors an answer, in
 20 particular distinct articles, respectively to his questions.

As for his secret spials which he did employ both at home and abroad, by them to discover what parties and conspiracies were against him, surely his case required it, he had such moles perpetually working and casting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended, for if spials be lawful against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors. But indeed to give them credence by oaths or curses, that cannot be well maintained, for those are too holy vestments for a disguise. Yet surely there was this
 30 further good in his employing of these flies and familiars; that as the use of them was cause that many conspiracies were revealed, so the fame and suspicion of them kept (no doubt) many conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his Queen he was nothing uxorious; nor scarce indulgent; but companionable and respective, and

without jealousy. Towards his children he was full of paternal affection, careful of their education, aspiring to their high advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due honour and respect, but not greatly willing to cast any popular lustre upon them.

To his counsel he did refer much, and sat oft in person ; knowing it to be the way to assist his power and inform his judgment, in which respect also he was fairly patient of liberty both of advice and of vote, till himself were declared.

He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather 10 to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people ; which made for his absoluteness but not for his safety. Insomuch as I am persuaded it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign. For that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Lewis the Eleventh was. But contrariwise he was served by the ablest men that then were to be found ; without which his affairs could not have prospered as they 20 did. For war, Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, Dawbeny, Brooke, Poynings. For other affairs, Morton, Foxe, Bray, the Prior of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Hussey, Frowick, and others. Neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ : for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well. For it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles, yet in twenty-four years reign he never put down or discomposed counsellor or near servant, 30 save only Stanley the Lord Chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him, that of the three affections which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereign,—love, fear, and reverence,—he had the last in height, the second in

good measure, and so little of the first as he was beholding to the other two.

He was a Prince, sad, serious, and full of thoughts and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials of his own hand, especially touching persons; as whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to inquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like; keeping (as it were) a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale, that his monkey (set on
10 as it was thought by one of his chamber) tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth. Whereat the court which liked not those pensive accounts was almost tickled with sport.

He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions. But as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true his thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way did hurt another. Neither
20 did he at some times weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly that rumour which did him so much mischief (that the Duke of York should be saved and alive) was (at the first) of his own nourishing, because he would have more reason not to reign in the right of his wife. He was affable, and both well and fair spoken, and would use strange sweetness and blandishments of words, where he desired to effect or persuade anything that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned, reading most books that were of any worth, in the French tongue. Yet he understood the Latin,
30 as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his pleasures, there is no news of them. And yet by his instructions to Marsin and Stile touching the Queen of Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching

beauty. He did by pleasures as great Princes do by banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never Prince was more wholly given to his affairs, nor in them more of himself, insomuch as in triumphs of justs and tourneys and balls and masks (which they then called disguises) he was rather a princely and gentle spectator than seemed much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him as in all men (and most of all in kings) his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a ¹⁰ private fortune, which might endow him with moderation, but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights ²⁰ of eyes, rather strong at hand than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion, and so much the more if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Again whether it were the shortness of his foresight or the strength of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what it was, certain it is that the perpetual troubles of his fortunes (there being no more matter out of which they grew) could not have been without some great defects and main errors in his nature, customs and proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help with a thousand little industries and ³⁰ watches. But those do best appear in the story itself. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain.

But if you shall change Lewis the Twelfth for Lewis the Eleventh, who lived a little before, then the consort is more perfect. For that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry, may be esteemed for the *tres magi* of kings of those ages. To conclude, if this King did no greater matters, it was long of himself, for what he minded he compassed.

He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and straight limbed, but slender. His countenance was reverend and a little like a churchman: and as it was
 10 not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter, for it was best when he spake.

His worth may bear a tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem divine. When the Lady Margaret his mother had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night that one in the likeness of a bishop in pontifical habit did tender her Edmund Earl of Richmond (the King's father) for her husband. Neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands.
 20 One day when King Henry the Sixth (whose innocence gave him holiness) was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said: 'this is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for.' But that that was truly divine in him, was that he had the fortune of a true Christian as well as of a great king, in living exercised and dying repentant. So as he had an happy warfare in both conflicts, both of sin and the cross.

He was born at Pembroke Castle, and lieth buried at
 30 Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.

NOTES

IN THE PRAISE OF HIS SOVEREIGN

This Discourse was assigned by Spedding to the autumn of 1592. It was probably written for the Court device contrived by the Earl of Essex for the Queen's day of that year. The extract is taken from the modernized version printed by Spedding.

PAGE 38, l. 12. *extenuateth*, weakens; an obsolete use.

PAGE 39, l. 30. *was conjured*, had conspired.

ESSAYS

There were three authorized editions of the *Essays*—(1) 1597, containing ten essays, (2) 1612, containing thirty-eight, and (3) 1625, containing fifty-eight. The twenty-two essays in the present selection are taken from the last edition, but the spelling is modernized.

Dedications. Bacon's elder brother, Anthony, to whom the first edition was dedicated, died in 1601. The second edition was to have been dedicated to Prince Henry, the Prince of Wales, who died when it was about to be published. It was dedicated instead to Sir John Constable, who in 1607 had married the sister of Bacon's wife, and, like Bacon, was a member of Gray's Inn. The actual copy of the third edition which Bacon presented to the Duke of Buckingham is preserved in the Bodleian Library.

PAGE 42, l. 6. *to labour the stay of them*, to prevent the publication of this unauthorized edition.

PAGE 43, l. 20. *rather significantly than curiously*, with more thought of the meaning than the expression, of the matter than the manner. But each new edition of the *Essays* showed more attention to the cadence of the style.

ESSAY I. PAGE 46, l. 1. *Pilate*. See John xviii. 38.

l. 4. *sects of philosophers of that kind*, i.e. the Sceptic school, founded by Pyrrho of Elis (350–300 B.C.).

l. 12. *One of the later school of the Grecians*, Lucian of Samosata (fl. A.D. 160), who in his *Philopseudes* (= 'lover of lies'), discusses this question.

l. 18. *masques, and mummeries, and triumphs*. 'Masques' were dramatic entertainments, produced mainly at Court, in which more attention was generally given to the elaborate staging and the dresses, and to the music, than to the dialogue. 'Mummeries' were at first, as the word implies, entertainments in dumb-show; they were of a broader, more popular, cast than masques. 'Triumphs' were grander spectacular shows or pageants, including 'jests and tourneys and barriers'.

l. 22. *lie*, here used in its widest possible sense, to include anything not exactly true.

l. 28. *One of the fathers*. In using the phrase *vinum daemonum*

('wine of devils') Bacon probably confused two passages: *daemonum cibus est poetarum carmina* ('the food of devils is poetry') Jerome, *Epist.* 146, and *vinum erroris ab ebriis doctoribus propinatum* ('the wine of error given by drunken teachers to their pupils') Augustine, *Confessions*, i. 16.

PAGE 47, l. 1. *truth, which only doth judge itself.* Truth, unlike reason, is infallible; when we have once arrived at truth and believe in it, there is no more use for reason.

l. 6. *The first creature, &c.* Cf. Genesis i. 'The light of the sense' is the visible light, created on the first day; 'the light of reason' is the human mind, created on the sixth day; God's 'sabbath work' is guiding man's reason towards truth.

l. 12. *The poet that beautified the sect.* The poet is Lucretius (95-51 B.C.), and the sect is that of the Epicureans, the followers of Epicurus (342-270 B.C.). 'Otherwise inferior' may either refer to the alleged immorality of their teaching or mean that Lucretius was the only famous man among them. The passage, which Bacon translates roughly, is in Lucretius's great poem *De Rerum Natura*, Book II. 1-10.

l. 23. *turn upon the poles of truth*, i.e. so as to face all aspects of life, without deviating from truth.

l. 26. *truth of civil business*, i.e. truthfulness in dealings between man and man.

l. 35. *Montaigne saith.* The sentence is not Montaigne's own, but a quotation by him (*Essays*, ii. 18) from Plutarch (*Life of Lysander*, p. 307 b). This is Bacon's only mention of Montaigne in the *Essays*, and this essay was first published in 1625. See p. x.

PAGE 48, l. 8. *it being foretold.* See Luke xviii. 8, where the words are not prophetic, but interrogative. Bacon both misquotes and misapplies them; for 'faith' was clearly not used there in the sense of 'good faith'.

ESSAY II. PAGE 48, l. 13. *the wages of sin.* Romans vi. 23.

l. 17. *mortification.* Cf. Romans viii. 13.

l. 24. *as a philosopher, and natural man*, i.e. one who contemplates life and death with a mind uninfluenced by religion. Seneca is meant.

Pompa mortis, &c., 'the solemn accompaniments of death are more fearful than death itself', not a quotation but a summary of a passage in Seneca, *Epist.* xxiv.

l. 26. *blacks.* Cf. Ben Jonson, *Epigrams* 44: 'Ere blacks were bought for his own funeral'.

l. 29. *mates*, overcomes, renders powerless (as in chess).

l. 32. *of him*, i. e. of death.

PAGE 49, l. 1. *pre-occupateth*, anticipates. Cf. Seneca (*Epist.* xxiv), *ut quidam timore mortis cogantur ad mortem* ('so that some by fear of death are driven to death'), as when a man throws himself to certain death from a burning house.

l. 2. *Otho*, emperor at Rome from the 15th January to the 16th April in A.D. 69. He stabbed himself on hearing that his army had been defeated at Betriacum by the forces of

Vitellius. The suicide of many of Otho's soldiers is recorded by Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 49) and Suetonius (*Otho*, 12).

1. 5. *Seneca adds.* Cf. Seneca, *Epist.* lxxvii. Bacon gives the substance of the passage, which is quoted by Seneca from a Stoic friend's address to a young man who contemplated suicide: 'Consider how long you have done the same things; a man may be willing to die not only because he is brave or unhappy, but just because he is wearied of life.'

1. 12. *Augustus Caesar*, died on the 19th August, A. D. 14. Suetonius's account (*Augustus*, 99) of his death is 'suddenly he breathed his last, kissing Livia and saying, "Livia, goodbye: live and remember our married life"'. This is much more than 'compliment'.

1. 15. *Iam Tiberium*, &c., 'his bodily strength was leaving Tiberius, but not his habit of dissimulation', Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 50. Tiberius died on the 16th March, A. D. 37.

1. 16. *Ut puto*, &c., 'methinks I am becoming a god', Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 23. Roman emperors after death were deified and received the title *Divus*.

1. 17. *Feri, si*, &c., i. e. 'Strike, if it is to benefit the Roman people'. North's Plutarch, *Galba*, 714 b, 'and Galba, holding out his neck to them, bade them strike hardly, if it was to do their country good'.

1. 19. *Adeste, si*, &c., 'be ready, if anything remains for me to do'. This is apparently taken from the Greek *ἄγετε, ὄντε, εἴ τι πράξαι ἔχομεν* (Dio Cassius, lxxvi. 17). The Emperor Severus died at York on the 4th February, A. D. 211.

1. 20. *the Stoics*, &c. This is true of Seneca but not of the Stoics in general.

1. 22. *qui finem*, &c., 'who can rank the last end of life among the blessings of nature', Juvenal, *Satire*, x. 358 (*finem* is a mistake for *spatium*).

1. 33. *Extinctus*, &c., 'the same man (who in life is hated) will be loved when dead', Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 14.

ESSAY V. PAGE 50, l. 4. *Bona rerum*, &c. Seneca, *Epist.* lxxvi, misquoted.

1. 9. *Vere magnum*, &c. Seneca, *Epist.* liii, misquoted. 'Security' is here used in the sense of the Latin *securitas*, i. e. freedom from care. Cf. Ben Jonson, *The Forest*, xi (last line), 'Man may securely sin, but safely never.'

1. 16. *Hercules*. This story is told by many classical writers, but the pot was golden, not earthen. Prometheus was according to Greek mythology punished for stealing fire from heaven by being bound to a rock on the Caucasus mountains.

1. 20. *in a mean*, moderately: not highly or transcendently.

ESSAY VI. PAGE 51, l. 11. *Tacitus saith*, in *Annals*, v. 1. For Livia cf. Essay II.

1. 14. *Mucianus*, the chief supporter of Vespasian in his war against Vitellius, A. D. 69 (cf. Essay II). Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii. 76.

PAGE 52, l. 18. *as the more close air*, &c., i. e. as the warmer air in a room being rarefied draws in the denser air outside.

l. 23. *mysteries are due to secrecy*, i. e. a man who can keep a secret has a right to expect secrets to be confided to him.

l. 30. *that a man's face*, &c., i. e. that a man's expression should not betray what he is about to say or deny what he has said. Cf. *Nec vultu destrue dicta tuo*, Ovid, *Ars. Amat.* ii. 312.

PAGE 53, l. 7. *absurd*, showing deafness, unreasonable.

l. 20. *ure*, occupation, use; connected with Fr. *œuvre*; obsolete, but surviving in 'inure', 'manure'.

l. 29. *fair*, fairly, handsomely (adverb): opposed to 'hardly'.

l. 31. *Tell a lie and find a truth*. The Spanish is 'Di mentira, y sacarás verdad'.

PAGE 54, l. 1. *round*, an old use of the word, of an action complete or brought to a finish.

l. 8. *openness in fame*, a reputation for openness.

ESSAY XI. PAGE 54, l. 21. *Cum non sis*, &c., 'when you are no longer what you were, there is no reason why you should wish to live'. Cicero, *Epist. ad Fam.* vii. 3.

PAGE 55, l. 5. *Illi mors gravis*, &c., 'death falls heavy on him, who dies too well known to all others but unknown to himself'. Seneca, *Thyestes*, ii. 401.

l. 17. *Et conversus Deus*, &c., 'and God turned to look at the works which His hands had made, and saw that they were all very good'; adapted from Genesis i. 31.

l. 27. *bravery*, ostentation, display.

PAGE 56, l. 32. *Salomon saith*. Proverbs xxviii. 21.

l. 34. *A place sheweth the man*, ἀρχὴ ἀνδρα δείξει, Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* v. i. 16, quoting Bias, one of the Seven Wise Men.

PAGE 57, l. 1. *Omnium*, &c., 'by common consent fit for empire, if he had not been emperor'. Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 49.

l. 3. *Solus imperantium*, &c., 'Vespasian was the only emperor who changed for the better'. Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 50.

l. 11. *to side a man's self*, to take one side or the other.

ESSAY XIV. PAGE 57, l. 28. *stirps*, races, families. Latin, *stirps*, plur. *stirpes*. The sing. in English is *stirp*.

l. 31. *Switzers*. Switzerland is a confederation of little states, with various races, religions, languages, and interests.

PAGE 58, l. 1. *United Provinces*, the seven provinces of the Netherlands, which in A.D. 1579 broke from their allegiance to Spain and became an independent republic.

l. 30. *passive envy*. Envy is active (cf. 'motions of envy') in respect of the person who envies; passive, of the person envied.

ESSAY XVII. PAGE 59, l. 4. *Plutarch*, of Boeotia, lived during the latter part of the first century A.D. He is best known for his *Parallel Lives*, Greek and Roman. The passage in the text is from an essay *On Superstition*.

l. 9. *Saturn*. In Greek mythology Cronos, identified by the Romans with their god Saturnus, was king of heaven; he was warned that one of his own children would supplant him, so he killed and ate them all, except Zeus, who was hidden from him and lived to dethrone him in fulfilment of the prophecy.

1. 20. *primum mobile*. According to the Ptolemaic system, instituted by Ptolemy of Alexandria in the second century, the Earth is stationary and surrounded by ten moving spheres or orbs; beginning nearest to the Earth, the spheres are in the following order:—(1) the Moon, (2) Mercury, (3) Venus, (4) the Sun, (5) Mars, (6) Jupiter, (7) Saturn, (8) the Firmament of fixed stars, (9) the Crystalline Sphere, and (10) the Primum Mobile, which last in its daily revolution carries round with it the nine other spheres, each of which has also a separate movement of its own slower than the Primum Mobile. Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iv. 592–5. Bacon often uses *primum mobile* metaphorically.

1. 24. *Council of Trent*, the eighteenth General Council of the Church begun at Trent in A. D. 1545.

1. 25. *schoolmen*, men who taught in the schools or universities of Mediaeval Europe, applying Aristotelian logic to theology and science. Bacon contrasts his new and fruitful method with their barren subtleties.

1. 26. *eccentrics and epicycles*. In the Ptolemaic astronomy each of the planets revolved in an 'epicycle', i.e. a small circle having its centre on the circumference of a greater circle. These circles not having the Earth at their centre were called 'eccentric'. Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, viii. 81 seq.

'How build, unbuild, contrive
To save appearances; how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb.'

'To save the phenomena' and Milton's 'to save appearances' are translations of the Greek phrase, *σώζειν τὰ φαινόμενα*, 'to explain all the phenomena, leaving nothing out of account'.

ESSAY XVIII. PAGE 61, l. 18. *triumphs*. See Essay I.

1. 33. *adamant*, from the Greek *ἀδάμας* (*ἀ*, not + *δαμάω*, I tame or break), meaning 'invincible, unbreakable', hence used to denote the hardest substances known to the ancients, e.g. steel and, later, diamond. But mediæval Latin writers connecting it with *adamare* (= to love) used it to denote the loadstone or magnet. Hence the metaphorical use here.

ESSAY XX. PAGE 63, l. 5. *The Counsellor*. Isaiah ix. 6.

1. 6. *in counsel is stability*. Proverbs xx. 18 (paraphrased).

1. 11. *Salomon's son*, Rehoboam. See 1 Kings xii.

PAGE 64, l. 23. *cabinet counsels*. The word cabinet is not used here in the modern technical sense, which grew up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but in the sense of secret or private unofficial councils.

1. 24. *Plenus rimarum sum*, 'I am full of chinks.' Terence, *Eunuchus*, i. 2. 25.

1. 32. *to grind with a hand-mill*, i.e. to do his own work.

PAGE 65, l. 2. *Morton and Fox*. John Morton was Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor to Henry VII. Richard Fox was Bishop of Winchester and Privy Seal.

1. 9. *holpen*, old past part. of *help*, used in the sense of 'cure': cf. 'Help thou mine unbelief'.

1. 11. *non inveniet*, &c., 'he shall not find faith on the earth'. Luke xviii. 8. Cf. Essay I.

1. 22. *Principis est*, &c., 'The greatest virtue in a prince is to know his people.' Martial, viii. xv. 8.

PAGE 66, l. 6. *secundum genera*, 'according to their class'.

1. 10. *Optimi*, &c., 'the dead are the best counsellors'.

1. 11. *blanch*, The meaning 'avoid a plain issue, gloss over or palliate the facts' suits the context; but the Latin version has *in adulationem lapsuri*, 'about to fall into adulation', which implies that 'blanch' was associated with 'blandish'.

1. 18. *In nocte consilium*, 'in the night comes counsel'.

1. 19. *commission of union*. In 1604 a scheme for uniting the kingdoms of England and Scotland was discussed and almost agreed upon.

1. 24. *hoc agere*, 'do the business which is before them'.

PAGE 67, l. 2. *tribunitious*, overbearing, turbulent: from the conduct of the tribunes of the Plebs at Rome.

1. 10. *take the wind of him*, i. e. see which way the wind blows and go in the same direction.

1. 12. *placebo*, the office of Vespers for the Dead, so called from its first antiphon, *Placebo Domino* (Ps. cxiv. 9 Vulgate); hence the phrase *to sing him a song of placebo*, which means 'to curry favour with him'.

ESSAY XXIII. PAGE 67, l. 19. *stands fast*, &c., another allusion to Ptolemaic astronomy. Cf. Essay XVII.

PAGE 68, l. 7. *a bias upon their bowl*. A bowl is weighted on one side to make it turn in its course, the word 'bias' being used to denote both the weighted side and its effect.

1. 13. *and*, if.

1. 22. *crocodiles, that shed tears*. Cf. 'In this river we saw many crocodiles. . . . His nature is ever when hee would have his prey to cry and sobbe like a Christian body to provoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them.' Hakluyt, *Sir J. Hawkins' Voyage*.

1. 25. *sui amantes*, &c., 'lovers of themselves without a rival'. Cicero, *ad Quintum Fratrem*, iii. 8 (loosely quoted).

ESSAY XXIV. PAGE 69, ll. 4, 5. *natural motion*, e. g. the accelerating fall of a heavy body; *forced motion*, e. g. the flight of an arrow, decreasing in speed and finally ceasing.

1. 31. *pretendeth*, is a pretext for.

1. 33. *we make a stand*, &c. Jeremiah vi. 16.

ESSAY XXV. PAGE 70, l. 15. *a wise man*. It appears from the *Apophthegms* that this was Sir Amyas Paulet, English ambassador at the French Court, with whom Bacon stayed as a young man.

PAGE 71, l. 25. *ashes are more generative than dust*. Bacon, like Pliny in his *Natural History*, speaks of both ashes and dust as good manure. The contrast suggested is between the more solid ashes, which are the remains left by the discussion of a definite scheme, and the mere dust of aimless dispute.

ESSAY XXVII. PAGE 71, l. 28. *Whosoever is delighted, &c.*
Aristotle, *Politics*, i. 2.

PAGE 72, l. 2. *conversation*, intercourse, intimacy.

l. 4. *Epimenides*, a Cretan seer, who is said to have purified Athens from plague about 596 B.C.

Numa, the second king of ancient Rome and the legendary founder of many religious observances.

l. 5. *Empedocles*, a Sicilian philosopher of the fifth century who 'combined scientific study with a mystical religion of the Orphic type' (Professor Burnet).

Apollonius, of Tyana, a Pythagorean philosopher and ascetic of the first century A.D.

l. 11. *Magna civitas, &c.*, 'a great city is great solitude'.

PAGE 73, l. 4. *sorteth to*, turns to, results in.

l. 8. *participes curarum*, 'partners in their cares'.

l. 16. *Sylla*. *Lepidus* was the friend for whom Pompey 'carried the consulship' against Sylla's wishes, but this answer was given when Sylla refused him a triumph.

l. 24. *Decimus Brutus*. Cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*,

ii. ii. 'Nephew' should be 'great-nephew', viz. Octavius, afterwards Augustus.

l. 33. *Antonius, in a letter*. Cicero, *Philippics*, xiii. 11.

l. 35. *Agrippa*, a life-long friend of Augustus and a successful general.

PAGE 74, l. 2. *Maecenas*, the friend and counsellor of Augustus. The passage quoted is from Dio Cassius, liv. 6.

l. 6. *Sejanus*, a friend of the Emperor Tiberius (cf. Essay II) and prefect of the Praetorian guard. He aimed at the imperial power for himself, and Tiberius learning of his treachery sent Macro with a message from Capreae to the Senate, who immediately decreed the execution of Sejanus.

l. 8. *Haec pro amicitia, &c.*, 'these things in accordance with our friendship I have not concealed'. Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 40.

l. 12. *Septimius Severus*, emperor A.D. 193-211; his eldest son, who married the daughter of Plautianus, was Caracalla. Plautianus turned traitor, and was put to death in A.D. 203. The quotation 'I love, &c.' is from Dio Cassius, lxxv. 15.

l. 17. *Trajan*, one of the greatest and best of the Roman emperors (A.D. 98-117).

Marcus Aurelius, emperor A.D. 161-80, a successful and popular ruler, whose 'Thoughts' are still widely read.

l. 23. *as an half-piece*, perhaps a reference to the old practice of cutting silver pennies into halves to make up for the deficiency of smaller coins.

l. 27. *Comineus*, Philippe de Commines, secretary to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1433-77); he afterwards served Charles's enemy, Louis XI, King of France.

PAGE 75, l. 12. *alchymists*. The chemistry of the Middle Ages was mostly concerned with the problem of making gold out of baser metals, and the discovery of a universal medicine; it was supposed that the miracle could be performed by means of the 'Philosophers' Stone'.

1. 15. *praying in aid of*, calling in the help of, a legal phrase.

1. 34. *said by Themistocles*. Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles*, where, however, the distinction is made between exact and inexact speaking, not between speech and thought. Themistocles, when banished from Athens, 471 B.C., went to the Persian court, where King Artaxerxes received him with honour.

1. 35. *cloth of Arras*, tapestry, so called from Arras, a town in Artois, where it was made.

PAGE 76, l. 14. *Dry light*. Heraclitus was a philosopher of Ephesus, who lived about 500 B.C. What he said was—‘A dry soul ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) is wisest and best.’ In his *Apophthegms* Bacon quotes the sentence as ‘the dry light was the best soul, meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not wet nor, as it were, blooded by the affections’.

PAGE 77, l. 2. *that look sometimes*, &c. James i. 23-4.

1. 3. *presently*, immediately; *favour*, face, look.

1. 7. *four and twenty letters*. An angry man should say over the alphabet before acting. I and J were regarded as one letter only, as were U and V.

PAGE 78, l. 5. *a friend is another himself*. This is supposed to be a saying originally of Pythagoras; it occurs twice in Aristotle, viz. *Nic. Eth.* ix. 4, 5 and *Eud. Eth.* vii. 12, 1.

1. 8. *bestowing of a child*, i. e. in marriage.

ESSAY XXIX. PAGE 78, l. 29. *Themistocles*. Cf. Essay XXVII. This story is told by Plutarch (*Life of Themistocles*).

PAGE 79, l. 19. *negotiis pares*, i. e. ‘equal to their business’: cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 39 ‘par negotiis neque supra’.

PAGE 80, l. 3. *kingdom of heaven*, &c. Matthew xiii. 31.

1. 17. *It never troubles*, &c. Virgil, *Eclogues*, vii. 52.

1. 18. *plains of Arbela*. Alexander the Great defeated Darius, King of Persia, near Arbela in Assyria, 331 B.C. The saying is recorded by Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*).

1. 23. *Tigranes*, King of Armenia, son-in-law of Mithridates, defeated at Tigranocerta by the Romans under Lucullus 69 B.C. The quotation is from Plutarch (*Life of Lucullus*).

1. 35. *Solon*, the great Athenian statesman, was said to have visited Croesus, King of Lydia (560-546 B.C.). See Herodotus, i. 29 and for the sentence quoted Lucian, *Charon*, 7.

PAGE 81, l. 12. *blessing of Judah and Issachar*. Genesis xlix. 9, 14.

1. 30. *staddles*, young trees left standing when others are cut down.

PAGE 82, l. 16. *Terra potens*, &c., ‘a land mighty in arms and in fruitfulness.’ Virgil, *Aeneid* i. 531.

1. 28. *Nebuchadnezzar’s tree*. Daniel iv. 10 *et seq.*

PAGE 83, l. 12. *jus civitatis*, &c., i. e. ‘the right of citizenship’, comprising ‘the right of trading, the right of inter-marriage, the right of inheritance, the right of voting, and the right of candidature for civic office’.

1. 31. *Pragmatical Sanction*, a term first used of decrees

of the Eastern emperors, and afterwards applied to any imperial decree affecting a whole community. The 'Sanction' here mentioned was published by Philip IV in 1622, giving special privileges to married men, particularly to those who had six or more children.

PAGE 85, l. 21. *prest*, ready; obsolescent by 1700.

l. 30. *war for the liberty of Graecia*, the war (200-196 B.C.) between the Romans and Philip of Macedon.

PAGE 86, l. 20. *Consilium Pompeii*, &c. 'Pompey's policy is clearly that of Themistocles; for he considers that the man who commands the sea commands the situation.' Cicero, *Ep. ad Atticum*, x. 8 (inaccurately quoted).

l. 24. *Actium*. Octavius defeated Antony off Actium 31 B.C. and made himself master of the Roman world.

l. 25. *battle of Lepanto*. The Christian fleet decisively defeated the Turks off Lepanto on the Gulf of Corinth in 1571.

l. 28. *set up their rest*, ventured their last stake or reserve, staked their all.

PAGE 87, l. 31. *by care taking*, &c. Matthew vi. 27.

ESSAY XXXII. PAGE 88, l. 26. *Parce puer*, &c., 'spare the goad, boy, and pull more firmly with the reins'. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii. 127.

PAGE 89, l. 4. *a poser*, an examiner: still used in this sense of the examiners sent by New College to Winchester.

l. 17. *of touch towards*, touching, affecting.

l. 23. *dry blow*, &c., i.e. a blow which does not draw blood.

ESSAY XXXVI. PAGE 90, l. 1. *choler*, which is an humour, &c. The four cardinal 'humours' are blood, choler, phlegm, and melancholy, which according to ancient and mediaeval physiology by the proportion in which they are present in a man determine his physical and mental qualities.

l. 4. *adust*, burnt, scorched.

l. 28. *Tiberius . . . Macro . . . Sejanus*. Cf. Essay XXVII.

PAGE 91, l. 12. *obnoxious*, exposed.

ESSAY XXXIX. PAGE 92, l. 4. *Macciavel*. Niccolo Machiavelli of Florence (1469-1527) whose *Il Principe* (The Prince), a treatise on statecraft, had a wide influence, and has been taken as the type of non-moral politics. For a just estimate see *Il Principe*, ed. L. A. Burd, Clarendon Press.

l. 12. *Friar Clement*, assassinated Henry III of France 1589.

Ravillac—François Ravillac, who assassinated Henry IV of France in 1610.

Jaureguy, attempted to assassinate William the Silent, Prince of Orange, in 1582.

Baltazar Gerard, assassinated William the Silent in 1584.

l. 15. *of the first blood*, committing their first murder.

l. 16. *volary*, confirmed by vow.

l. 24. *Indians*, &c., i.e. the Gymnosophists, ascetic and mystical philosophers, of whom reports were brought to Europe by the companions of Alexander the Great. Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, and Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 27.

l. 29. *queching*, flinching, quitching : now dialectal.

PAGE 93, l. 20. *in his exaltation*, a metaphor from astrology, exaltation being the place of a planet in the Zodiac when it is supposed to exert its greatest influence.

ESSAY XLII. PAGE 94, l. 4. *Juventutem egit*, &c., 'his youth was full of blunders, or rather acts of madness'. *Severus*, cf. Essay II.

l. 7. *Cosmus*, Cosmo de' Medici, Duke of Florence 1537-74, a wise and successful ruler.

l. 8. *Gaston de Foix*, nephew of Louis XII, and Duke of Nemours. He commanded the French army both in Italy and Spain and was killed at the battle of Ravenna, 1512, at the age of twenty-three. There was an earlier Gaston de Foix, 1331, whom Froissart describes as a pattern of chivalry.

PAGE 95, l. 3. *Your young men*, &c. Joel ii. 28.

l. 12. *Hermogenes*, a Greek rhetorician of the second century A.D., born at Tarsus.

l. 17. *Idem manebat*, &c., i.e. 'he remained the same, but the same was no longer becoming to him', Cicero, *Brutus*, 95. Hortensius (114-50 B.C.) was one of the great orators of Rome.

l. 21. *Ultima primis cedebant*, 'the end was not equal to the beginning'. Publius Cornelius Scipio ended the Second Punic War in 202 B.C. In 187 he was accused of accepting bribes from Antiochus, King of Syria, left Rome in indignation, and died in retirement 183 B.C.

ESSAY XLVI. For the flowers in Bacon's garden, see *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, by John Parkinson, 1629.

PAGE 95, l. 22. *God Almighty*, &c. Genesis ii. 8.

PAGE 97, l. 1. *ver perpetuum*, 'perpetual spring'.

l. 15. *Bartholomew-tide*. St. Bartholomew's Day is August 24.

PAGE 98, l. 29. *slope*, sloping : now poetical.

PAGE 99, l. 1. *letting*, hindering, obstructing.

PAGE 101, l. 13. *deceive the trees*, take away their nourishment.

ESSAY XLVII. PAGE 102, l. 22. *affect*, have affection for, are fond of : as commonly in Shakespeare.

l. 26. *absurd*. See note on p. 53, l. 7.

ESSAY L. PAGE 104, l. 26. *Abeunt studia in mores*, 'studies pass into character'. Ovid, *Heroides*, xv. 83.

l. 27. *stond*, impediment, stoppage : found in this sense only in Bacon.

l. 30. *shooting*, archery.

PAGE 105, l. 1. *Cymini sectores*, 'dividers of cummin-seeds', i.e. given to excessive subtlety. But the Greek word *κυμνοπρίστης*, from which Bacon obviously took the phrase, means a 'skinflint', not a 'hair-splitter'.

apt to beat over, good at going over the ground of.

l. 3. A study of lawyers' cases would teach a man how to search for precedents and apply them.

ESSAY LIV. PAGE 105, l. 8. *moveth upon greater means*, i.e. is set on foot by others more capable than themselves.

l. 18. *Antiochus and the Aetolians*. Antiochus, King of

Syria, 223-187 B.C., promised his help to the Aetolians in their revolt against the Romans. Each had overestimated the strength of the other, and the revolt was soon quelled.

1. 28. *militar*. Bacon uses also the form 'military', e. g. p. 80, l. 33.

1. 31. *charge and adventure*, cost and risk.

PAGE 106, l. 3. *Qui de contemnenda*, &c., 'those who write books on contempt of vain-glory, put their own names on the title-page'. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15 (inexactly quoted).

1. 5. Galen, Greek writer of medical treatises, A.D. 130-200. *full of ostentation*, i. e. they spoke with authority and made large claims for their teaching.

1. 6. *virtue was never so beholding*, &c., i. e. human nature is such that the memory of a man's virtue is more often perpetuated by his own expressed opinion of himself, than by others' opinions of him.

1. 9. *Plinius Secundus*, the younger Pliny, whose *Panegyric* on the Emperor Trajan and ten books of Letters are extant.

1. 13. *Omnium quae dixerat*, &c., 'one who was almost an artist in making known what he had said and done', Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 80. *Mucianus*, cf. Essay VI.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

PAGE 108. OBJECTIONS MADE TO LEARNING. Book I (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 15-17).

1. 22. *not in the purchase*, not in that which is acquired by it.

1. 27. *Seneca*, Ep. III. 5 ('Some are so retiring that they think daylight dangerous') from Pomponius.

PAGE 109, l. 14. *Demosthenes*. See Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, viii. 2, where the story is told of Pytheas, not Aeschines.

1. 18. *doubt*, fear.

1. 21. *of both*, i. e. learning and business.

1. 30. *maniable*, tractable, manageable.

PAGE 110. EDUCATION. Book I (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 20, 21). Learning is discredited by the poverty of learned men, their obscurity, and their mean employments.

1. 2. *traduced to contempt*, contemptuously paraded.

1. 3. *which age*, &c. The 'it' is unnecessarily repeated, the words 'which age' being placed foremost in the sentence without any government.

1. 14. *Your young men*, &c. Joel, ii. 28. Cf. Essay XLII, p. 95, l. 3.

1. 18. *pedantes*. Cf. Florio's *Montaigne*, ed. 1603, p. 60: 'I have in my youth oftentimes been vexed to see a Pedant brought in, in most of Italian comedies, for a vice or sport-maker.' Bacon's form 'pedantes' has three syllables. The Italian *pedante* was not yet fully naturalized as *pedant*.

1. 27. *Quo meliores*, &c., 'the better they are, the worse they are', a saying of Diogenes. See Diog. Laert. vi. 46.

1. 30. *Talis quum*, &c., 'Seeing you are such a man I wish you belonged to us'. Plutarch, *Agessilaus*, xii. 5.

PAGE 111. SELF AND COUNTRY. Book I (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 22-4).

1. 5. *Demosthenes*. *De Chersoneso*, p. 72 (a free version).

1. 10. *Quinquennium Neronis*. The phrase is used by Aurelius Victor (*De Caesaribus*, v. 2), fl. 360 A.D., quoting Trajan's praise of this period. It was formerly understood, as by Bacon here, to refer to the early years, when Nero was under the influence of Seneca. Mr. J. G. C. Anderson (*Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. i) has shown reason for thinking that Trajan referred to Nero's building activities of a later date.

1. 16. *casualty*, uncertainty.

1. 22. *Ecce tibi*, &c., 'lo, I have gained for thee (not me)'. Cf. Matthew xxv. 20.

1. 26. Cf. Essay XXIII, p. 67, ll. 19-22.

1. 29. *estates*. Dr. Aldis Wright suggests 'estate'; the Latin translation has '*de reipublicae navi*'.

1. 33. *stand*, stand firm, keep their position.

PAGE 112. WORDS AND MATTER. Book I (ed. Aldis Wright, p. 30).

1. 12. *secundum majus et minus*, 'to a greater or less degree'.

1. 17. *Pygmalion*, who fell in love with the statue he had made. See Ovid, *Metam.* x. 243.

PAGE 112. THE END OF KNOWLEDGE. Book I (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 42-3).

PAGE 113, l. 13. *Saturn . . . Jupiter*. Suggested by Macrobius, fl. A.D. 400, *Somnium Scipionis*, i. 12 'in Saturni ratiocinationem et intelligentiam, . . . in Iovis vim agendi'.

1. 22. *Declinat cursus*, &c., 'turns aside and picks up the golden ball'. Ovid, *Metam.* x. 667.

1. 23. *spoken of Socrates*. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 4. 10.

PAGE 114. LEARNING MAKES FOR PEACE AND ORDER. Book I (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 52-3).

1. 24. *Then should people*, &c. Plato, *Republic*, v, p. 473. A favourite saying of Antoninus Pius.

1. 32. *peremptory*, destructive.

PAGE 115. KNOWLEDGE AND PRIVATE VIRTUE. Book I (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 67-70).

1. 10. *Scilicet ingenuas*, &c., 'faithfully to have learned liberal arts softens manners and makes them gentle'. Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* ii. 9. 47.

1. 24. *Nil novi super terram*, Ecclesiastes i. 10, Vulgate 'nihil sub sole novum', 'there is no new thing under the sun'.

1. 26. *adviseth well of the motion*, observes carefully the mechanism.

1. 31. *passage*, pass, ford.

1. 32. *It seemed to him*, &c. Plutarch (*Agesilaus*, 15. 6) relates that Alexander called the battle between Antipater and Agis a battle of mice. The news was brought to him soon after the battle of Arbela. Cf. Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* i. prol. § 10 'formicarum iste discursus est in angusto laborantium'.

PAGE 116, l. 5. *whereas*, where.

1. 12. *Epictetus*.^{*} The dramatic form of the story is apparently Bacon's own.

1. 15. *Heri vidi*, &c. 'Yesterday I saw a brittle pot broken, to-day I have seen a mortal die.'

1. 19. *Felix, qui*, &c. Virgil, *Georgics*, ii. 490:

Happy, who had the skill to understand
Nature's hid causes, and beneath his feet
All terrors cast, and death's relentless gloom
And the loud roar of greedy Acheron. (Rhoades.)

1. 28. *rationem totius*, 'the reason of the whole', apparently referring to Ecclesiastes xii. 13.

1. 33. *suavissima vita*, &c., 'the sweetest life is to find oneself daily growing better'; the sentence appears to be derived from Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, i. 6. 9.

PAGE 117, l. 29. *Victorque*, &c. Virgil, *Georgics*, iv. 561:
bare rule o'er willing folk

Though vanquished, and essayed the heights of heaven.

PAGE 118, l. 10. *Revelation*, ii. 24.

PAGE 118. THE PLEASURE OF LEARNING. Book I (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 71-2).

1. 17. *exceed the pleasure of the sense*. So in the Errata to ed. 1605. The original editions have 'exceed the senses'. The Lat. is *oblectamenta sensuum excedent*. The true reading is probably 'exceed the pleasures of the senses'.

1. 22. *verdure*, freshness.

1. 23. *deceits of pleasure*, deceptive, unreal pleasures.

1. 26. *ambitious princes*. Bacon was perhaps thinking of the Emperor Charles V, who resigned the crown of Spain in favour of his son in 1556, and retired to the monastery of San Yuste.

1. 29. *appeareth*, i.e. 'knowledge appeareth'.

1. 33. *Suave mari magno*, &c. Lucretius, ii. 1-10. Cf. the translation of the passage in Essay I, p. 47.

PAGE 119. ACTS OF MERIT TOWARDS LEARNING. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 76-7).

1. 17. *accomplishments*, ornaments.

PAGE 119. LIMITATIONS OF COLLEGES. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 78-9).

1. 30. *the ancient fable*, the fable of the belly and the members told by Menenius Agrippa, Livy, ii. 32. See Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, i. 1. 99, &c.

PAGE 120, l. 5. *universality*, the study of general principles.

1. 15. *professory learning*, the teaching which has for its object one special branch of study.

malign aspect and influence. This metaphor is derived from the old astrology, in which the planets were supposed to exercise control over human destinies.

PAGE 120. INTERCOURSE OF UNIVERSITIES. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 82-3).

PAGE 121, l. 2. *Provincial*, the head of an order in a province or district; cf. Sandys, *Europae Spec.* (1632), p. 69:

'These generals have under them their provincials or lieutenants in every province or state of Christendom.'

1. 8. *illuminations or lights*. James i. 17.

PAGE 121. REASON, WILL, AND IMAGINATION. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 147-8).

1. 18. *Janus*, one of the earliest Roman deities, connected with the door of the house, and always represented with two heads. See Dr. Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, p. 282.

1. 22. *Quales decet*, &c., 'such as are meet for sisters'. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 14.

1. 26. *Aristotle*. *Politics*, i. 3.

PAGE 122, l. 2. *eloquence*. In the Latin this is expressed more clearly; where the minds of men are in any way wrought upon by rhetorical artifices, the imagination is roused till it triumphs over the reason, and as it were does it violence, partly by blinding and partly by exciting it.

1. 8. *the former division*. 'The parts of human learning have reference to the three parts of man's understanding: history to his memory, poesy to his imagination, and philosophy to his reason' (ed. Aldis Wright, p. 85).

1. 18. *in the doctrine De Anima*. See II. 11. 3, where the use of ceremonial magic is deprecated.

PAGE 122. MEMORY. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, p. 165).

1. 27. *An art there is extant of it*. Cornelius Agrippa, in his *Vanitie of the Sciences*, has a chapter 'Of the Arte of Memorie'. Giordano Bruno also wrote an *Ars Memoriae*.

PAGE 123, l. 10. *funambuloes, baladines*, tight-rope walkers and dancers.

PAGE 123. KNOWLEDGES AS DELIVERED. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 170-1).

1. 14. *contract of error*. Where the two parties to the contract have different objects, the contract fails.

1. 22. *to be spun on*, to be spun continuously, without break.

1. 25. *knowledge induced*, derived by induction.

1. 28. *secundum majus et minus*. See p. 112, l. 13.

PAGE 124, l. 9. *ure*, use.

PAGE 124. DOUBLE NATURE OF GOOD. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 189-91).

1. 30. *in commission of purveyance*, commissioned to make provision.

PAGE 125, l. 2. *Necesse est*, &c. Plutarch, *Pomp.* c. 50, 'I am bound to go but I am not bound to live'.

1. 10. St. Paul, Romans ix. 3, and Moses, Exodus xxxii. 32.

1. 22. *Pythagoras*. The story is told by Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* v. 3) from Heraclides Ponticus of Leo tyrant of Phlius, not of Hiero.

1. 30. *this theatre of man's life*. The reference is to Genesis i, where after each of the six days' work 'God saw that it was good'. Compare Essay XI, p. 55, l. 15.

1. 33. *Pretiosa*, &c. Psalm cxvi. 15, 'precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints'.

1. 34. *civil death*, &c. Members of religious orders (the regular clergy) cut themselves off from civil life.

PAGE 126, l. 1. *simple*. So ed. 1605; the editions of 1629, 1633 read 'simply'.

1. 5. *Moses*. Exodus xxiii.

1. 6. Genesis v. 24.

1. 8. *Jude* 14.

PAGE 126. PRIVATE AND PUBLIC GOOD. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 197-9).

1. 30. *incidentally*, incidentally.

PAGE 127, l. 11. Cf. Essay XLVIII: 'For lookers on, many times, see more than gamesters: and the vale best discovereth the hill.'

1. 14. *of active matter*, concerning subjects of active life.

1. 16. *Phormio*. Cicero, *De Orat.* ii. 18. 75. Catulus tells how Phormio the Peripatetic lectured Hannibal on the art of war, and Hannibal thought him the maddest man he had seen.

PAGE 127. THE AFFECTIONS. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 207-9).

1. 24. *it is in order*, i.e. the order is.

1. 31. *politiques*, statesmen. Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Embassy*, § 136: the people is the most unstable thing in the world and the most incalculable, inconstant as a wave of the sea, stirred by every chance wind.

PAGE 128, l. 24. Plutarch and Seneca wrote on Anger, and Plutarch has treatises of comfort upon adverse accidents (addressed to his wife and to Apollonius), and of tenderness of countenance (*περὶ δυσωπίας*) or bashfulness. Seneca too has a dialogue *de Consolatione*.

PAGE 129, l. 6. *praemium* and *poena*, reward and punishment.

PAGE 129. THE GOOD HOURS OF THE MIND. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 212-15).

1. 24. *de novo*, making a fresh start.

PAGE 130, l. 18. *Which state of mind*, i.e. concerning which state of mind. Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* vii. 1. 1. 'But for the opposite of the brutal character it would be most appropriate to take the excellence which is beyond us—the excellence of a hero or a god. . . . For just as neither virtue nor vice belongs to a brute, so does neither belong to a god; to the latter belongs something higher than virtue, to the former something specifically different from vice.' (Peters.)

1. 26. Pliny, *Paneg.* c. 74; not a funeral oration, but delivered at the beginning of the reign of Trajan, who survived Pliny.

1. 34. *bond of perfection*, Colossians iii. 14.

PAGE 131, l. 1. *Menander*, not Menander, but Anaxandrides (Ellis). See Meineke, *Graec. Com. Frag.* iii. 199:

ἔρως σοφιστοῦ γίγνεται διδάσκαλος
σκαίου πολὺν κρείττων πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπων βίον,

1. 6. *preceptions*, precepts.

1. 6. *dexteriously*. Bacon uses also the form 'dexterously'.

1. 12. Xenophon, *Symp.* i. 10.

1. 20. *Ascendam*, &c. Isaiah xiv. 14.

1. 22. *Eritis*, &c. Genesis iii. 5.

PAGE 131. TO PREVAIL IN FORTUNE. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 228-9).

1. 32. *because*, in order that ; *pragmatical men*, men of affairs.

PAGE 132, l. 7. *the globe of crystal*. Cf. II, ed. Aldis Wright, p. 249 : ' For so it is expressed in the scriptures touching the government of God, that this globe, which seemeth to us a dark and shady body, is in the view of God as crystal ' : see Revelation iv. 6.

1. 8. *form*, the true nature or law of a theory. Cf. Fowler, Introduction to *Nov. Org.* § 8.

1. 19. *Momus*. Lucian, *Hermotim.* 20.

1. 28. *Sola*, &c. ' Thou only knewest the tender ways and hours Of access to the man ' (Rhoades). Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 423.

PAGE 133. KNOWLEDGE OF MEN. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 233-4).

1. 5. *inwardness*, intimacy.

1. 11. *mediocrity*, mean, or middle course.

1. 20. *Et hoc volo*, &c., ' I want to do this and I want to keep my will (in harmony with nature) '. ' I want to do this and also to learn something new '. Epictetus, *Manual* 4.

PAGE 134. THE PROPORTION OF THINGS. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 242-3).

1. 7. *of proportions*, of the relative values of things.

1. 16. *Caesar*. *Bell. Civ.* i. 30 : ' All this he did with great zeal. '

1. 32. *sinews of the wars*. Cf. Essay XXIX, p. 80, 33 foll. and note. In Diog. Laert, iv. 48 τὸν πλοῦτον νεῖρα πραγμάτων, ' wealth is the sinews of action ', is quoted as a saying of Bion's. Cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, iv. 3. 218-21.

PAGE 135, l. 12. *an after game*, to recover it when it has lost ground.

1. 22. *Quod nunc instat agamus*, ' let us about our business '. Virgil, *Ecl.* ix. 66.

PAGE 135. THE PRELUDE ENDED. Book II (ed. Aldis Wright, pp. 251-2).

1. 28. *si nunquam fallit imago*, ' if the image never deceives '. Virgil, *Ecl.* ii. 27.

PAGE 136, l. 22. *only if*, i. e. if only.

1. 31. *Verbera, sed audi*, ' Strike, but hear ', said by Themistocles to Eurybiades.

1. 32. *so*, provided that.

NEW ATLANTIS

This was written as part of Bacon's scheme for the organization of learning and discovery, and should be read with the *Advancement* and the *Novum Organum*. The idea is derived from the *Timaëus* and the *Letters* of Plato, in which the lost island of Atlantis in the Atlantic and its civilization

are described. Bacon, with many others, identified America with Atlantis. See *Introd. to New Atlantis*, ed. A. B. Gough.

PAGE 137, l. 4. *cambric*. When glass was an expensive luxury, as in the Middle Ages, this was a common substitute.

PAGE 138, l. 3. *cast it*, reckoned. Cf. 'to cast up accounts'.

l. 9. *civilly*, soberly, without ostentation.

l. 10. *dorture*, dormitory; also spelt *dortour*, *dorter*.

PAGE 139, l. 25. *confusion of face*, shame; a biblical phrase, as in Ezra ix. 7.

PAGE 140, l. 5. *in expectation*, waiting to see.

l. 9. *divine pool*, like the pool of Bethesda, John v. 2-4.

kindly, naturally, in accordance with 'kind' or nature.

l. 19. *avoided*, quitted; an obsolete use.

l. 30. *aforehand*, provided for, supplied in advance.

l. 33. *defray you*, pay your expenses.

PAGE 141, l. 19. *our tongues*, &c. Cf. Psalm cxxxvii. 6.

l. 30. *prevent us*, anticipate our needs.

PAGE 142, l. 3. *Bensalem*, in Hebrew 'sons of peace'.

l. 9. *for the entertainment of the time*, so as to spend the time to advantage.

l. 19. *in respect*, &c., considering that. Cf. *As You Like It*, III. ii. 14: 'In respect that it is a shepherd's life, it is naught.'

l. 30. *within night*: an unusual expression; in the Latin version 'noctu'.

PAGE 143, l. 8. *as in a theatre* in a semicircle, like the spectators in a theatre.

l. 10. *the Society of Salomon's House*: see p. 154.

l. 19. *discern*, distinguish.

l. 24. *Thy finger*. Cf. Exodus viii. 19: 'This is the finger of God.'

PAGE 144, l. 11. *sindons*. The *sinclon* (Greek σινδών) of the ancients was a fine fabric from India (Sind). Later, the name was given to linen, or a wrapper made of it.

the canonical books, the books which form the canon (κανών) or 'rule' of faith, i.e. the Bible, as distinguished from various apocryphal books.

l. 27. *conform to*, similar to. See Acts ii. 1-11.

l. 33. *remain*: formerly common for 'remains', 'remnant'.

l. 34. *Bartholomew*. It was an early belief that the twelve Apostles preached the Gospel to the principal nations of the world. St. Bartholomew is said to have preached in India.

PAGE 145, l. 28. *any of*: perhaps should be 'of any'.

PAGE 146, l. 7. *conclave*: a figurative use of the word taken from its original sense, a private room, closet.

l. 11. *propriety*, property.

l. 24. *tender . . . to ask*, sensitive about asking.

l. 26. *touch*, hint.

PAGE 147, l. 2. *within these six-score years*: these would include the voyages of Diaz, Vasco da Gama, Columbus, and Cabot among others.

l. 6. *what it was*, whatever was the cause.

1. 7. For the trade of Tyre see Ezekiel xxvii.

1. 8. *the Carthaginians*. The Tyrians are said to have founded Carthage in 813 B.C.

1. 9. *the shipping of Egypt*. The ancient Egyptians were not great navigators, though from very early times their fleets sailed down the Red Sea to Somaliland, or Punt, whence they brought frankincense, myrrh, and other precious cargoes. For their voyage round Africa see Herodotus iv. 42.

1. 10. *Palestine*. We have no accounts of Hebrew voyages, except those undertaken by Solomon.

China. Nothing is known of the navigation of the high seas by the Chinese before the reign of the great emperor Shi Hwang-ti, 220-210 B.C.

1. 11. *the great Atlantis*: see note on p. 137 above.

1. 23. *stirps*: see note on p. 57, l. 28.

1. 25. *the Pillars of Hercules*; the Straits of Gibraltar.

1. 26. *Paguin*, Peking; which, however, was never a seaport. Kublai Khan, the great Mongol emperor, rebuilt Peking in 1284, and it received the Mongolian name of Khanbalik, i.e. 'city of the Khan', spelt Cambaluc by Marco Polo, and here corrupted into Cambaline.

1. 27. *Quinzy*, the great Chinese city now known as Hangchow, called by Marco Polo Kinsai.

1. 28. *the borders*, &c., the coast of Asia, north of China.

1. 31. *the narration*, &c. Bacon refers to Plato's fragmentary dialogue *Critias*.

1. 32. *planted*, settled, founded a colony.

PAGE 148, l. 1. *Degrees*, steps.

1. 2. *Scala Caeli*, a ladder of heaven, like Jacob's ladder.

1. 4. *Peru*, then called *Coya*. Peru never bore the name Coya, which may be a confusion with Colla, a civilized nation overthrown by the Incas.

1. 5. *Tyrambel*, apparently a fictitious name.

1. 8. *they both made two*, &c., they each made an expedition.

they of Tyrambel. The account of the expedition from Atlantis to Europe is drawn from Plato's *Timæus*.

1. 23. *entailed*, caught in his toils, entrapped. The word is used by Keats and Browning.

1. 32. *not by a great earthquake*. Bacon here diverges from the tradition followed by Plato, because he wishes to identify the great Atlantis with America, and he supposes, quite erroneously, that the latter is little subject to earthquakes.

1. 35. *greater rivers*. The Mississippi and the Amazon are the two longest rivers in the world.

higher mountains. Aconcagua (23,393 ft.), the highest mountain in the Andes, is exceeded by several peaks of the Himalayas.

PAGE 149, l. 12. *So as*, wherefore; cf. p. 152, l. 19.

1. 14. *account*, &c.: suggested by the saying of the Egyptian priest in Plato's *Timæus*, 22 B, that the Greeks are a young people, because they have lost their ancient civilization.

1. 22. *civility*, civilization.

1. 25. *tigers*. By the tiger he probably means the jaguar, which, however, is more like a large leopard. Under the term 'goats' Bacon probably refers to the alpaca and vicuña, goat-like animals of the camel family, the hair of which has long been used by the Peruvians for weaving.

1. 31. *feathers of birds*. The use of feathers for personal adornment is characteristic of many North American peoples.

1. 34. *by this main accident of time*, through this greatest catastrophe in history.

PAGE 150, l. 7. *brook*, endure; in the Latin version '*tolerare*'.

1. 24. *inscrutable for good*, the goodness of which could not be searched out, or fathomed. Cf. Proverbs xxv. 3.

1. 27. *substantive*, independent, self-supporting.

1. 32. *transportations from port to port*, coastwise traffic.

PAGE 151, l. 12. *an ancient law*. The Chinese Government from a very early period sought to restrict foreign settlement. This policy was abandoned by the Mongol emperors (1232-1368), but revived by the native Ming dynasty.

1. 25. *estate*, state, body politic.

PAGE 152, l. 3. *Chineses*. For this old form of the plural cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost* iii. 438.

1. 16. *creatures*, inanimate as well as animate things.

1. 19. *denominate of*, named after.

1. 22. *that Natural History*. Cf. 1 Kings iv. 33.

1. 23. *Libanus*, the Latin form of the Hebrew Lebanon.

moss: the word rendered *hyssop* in 1 Kings iv. 33 denotes some unknown herb, evidently very small.

1. 25. *symbolize . . . with*, correspond to, agree with. The account of Solamona perhaps alludes to James I, who was called by his flatterers the British Solomon, on account of his learning and pacific policy. Bacon himself repeatedly compares him with the Hebrew king.

PAGE 153, l. 14. *inventions*, including 'discoveries'.

1. 22. *contained*, prevented; properly, held back, restrained.

1. 24. *colour themselves*, disguise themselves.

PAGE 154. SALOMON'S HOUSE. This account must be read in connexion with Bacon's *Novum Organum*. The object of the collections here described is to ascertain how the forces of nature operate, in order to obtain control over them.

1. 18. *the depth of a hill*, &c. It makes no difference to the physical effects whether the cave is at the bottom of a shaft in a plain, or at the end of a tunnel under a hill.

1. 21. *coagulations*, *indurations*, cases or kinds of coagulation, and of hardening or solidification. This use of abstract nouns in the plural, rare in modern English, is common in Bacon.

Bacon is not altogether wrong in regarding precious stones as 'coagulations'. Real though minute diamonds were formed by the French chemist Moissan about 1890 by liquefying carbon dissolved in molten iron under enormous pressure, and suddenly cooling it.

l. 32. *as the Chineses do their porcelain*. Chinese porcelain, which was known in England as early as 1506, excited great wonder, as its composition was unknown.

PAGE 155, l. 1. *composts*, prepared manures.

l. 9. *insolation*, exposure to the sun.

l. 12. *meteors*: in the original sense of the word, including all phenomena of the air. Cf. *meteorology*.

l. 25. *enforcing*, intensifying.

l. 26. *on going*, in motion; *motions*, pieces of mechanism: cf. p. 115, l. 27.

l. 29. *tinted upon*, impregnated with, containing a tincture of.

brass, perhaps here used for copper, as in Deuteronomy viii. 9 (A. V.): 'Out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.'

l. 33. *Water of Paradise*. Bacon devoted much attention to the problem of prolonging life.

PAGE 156, l. 3. *bodies*, solids: e.g. sand and volcanic dust.

l. 4. *generations of bodies in air*: a widespread belief in Bacon's time.

l. 20. *conclusions*, experiments: obsolete, except in the phrase 'to try conclusions with'.

l. 21. *inoculating*, budding.

PAGE 157, l. 2. *take light*, gain enlightenment. Vivisection was rarely practised in and before Bacon's time.

l. 9. *kind*, nature.

l. 20. *basilisks*, a kind of large cannon, named from the fabulous serpent of that name.

l. 26. *ships and boats for going under water*. John Napier of Merchiston, the famous mathematician, announced in 1596, when a Spanish invasion was feared, various military inventions, including 'devices of sailing under the water'. The modern submarine dates from about 1887.

brooking of seas, i.e. resisting the force of the waves.

l. 28. *motions of return*, machines depending on any regularly recurring or cyclical movement.

PAGE 158, l. 3. *and their fallacies*: the object appears to be to arm men against imposture and quackery.

l. 23. *practices which are not brought into arts*, such processes as are carried on in a rude, unmethodical manner.

l. 24. *Mystery-men*. The word *mystery*, in the sense of an art or craft, is the Middle English *mistere*, from Old French *mestier* (Mod. French *métier*), from Latin *ministerium*, service. The functions of 'Merchants of Light', 'Depredatours', and 'Mystery-Men' are in part fulfilled by the editors of scientific year-books and other periodicals.

l. 27. *draw . . . into titles*, arrange under heads, classify.

l. 31. *bend themselves*, apply themselves.

l. 35. *natural divinations*, means of discovering the secrets of Nature, without preternatural aid.

PAGE 159, l. 3. *consults*, consultations.

l. 10. *Inoculators*: literally, persons who bud trees.

1. 13. *Interpreters of Nature*. The *Novum Organum* opens with the words, 'Homo, naturae minister et interpres' 'man, the servant and interpreter of nature'.

1. 28. *the West Indies*: used originally not only of the islands, but of North and South America. The name is due to the idea that the discoverers had reached eastern Asia.

1. 29. *your Monk*. This may refer either to Roger Bacon or to Berthold Schwarz, both of whom, however, were Franciscan friars.

1. 35. *sugars*. Cane sugar was the only kind known in Bacon's time. He probably uses the plural to include any similar sweet substances.

PAGE 160, l. 8. *touchstone*, fine-grained dark hard schist, or jasper, used for testing gold and silver alloys. It would be difficult to use it for statues.

1. 20. *temperature*, not merely the amount of heat, but of moisture as well; properly 'mixture' or 'composition'.

HENRY VII

The facsimile of the title-page is reduced. The original volume is a small folio.

PAGE 162, l. 3. *fit for a common-place*, easily reduced to a formula, typical, a *locus communis* being an observation that will cover a number of cases; *fit for observation*, requiring examination and careful study.

1. 11. *Savoy*, built by Peter, Earl of Savoy, uncle to Eleanor the wife of Henry III, destroyed by the Kentish rebels in 1381, and rebuilt as a hospital by Henry VII about 1509.

1. 27. *Earl of Lincoln*, supporter of Lambert Simnel, slain at Stoke in 1487.

Lord Audley, supporter of Perkin Warbeck and leader of the Cornish rebels, captured at Blackheath in 1497 and beheaded.

1. 29. *Brittaine*. The last Duke, Francis, was killed at the battle of St. Aubin in 1481. His wife Anne afterwards married Charles VIII of France.

1. 31. *Lord Lovell*, attainted 1485, rose against Henry in 1486; he fought at Stoke in 1487.

PAGE 163, l. 21. Edward, *Earl of Warwick*, son of George, Duke of Clarence, was unjustly executed in 1501, for sharing in Perkin Warbeck's attempt to escape from the Tower.

Sir William Stanley, the *Lord Chamberlain*, was executed for his share in Perkin Warbeck's conspiracy.

1. 23. *instead of numbers*, equivalent to a number of people.

PAGE 164, l. 7. *discharge*, relieve from responsibility.

1. 23. *a golden fleece*, the order of the Golden Fleece instituted by Philip of Burgundy in 1429. One of the most famous Knightly Orders in Europe, it exercised great influence first under the Dukes of Burgundy and then under the Hapsburgs. There were only twenty-four members, and places in the order were much coveted. Prince Henry was made a member in 1506.

PAGE 165, l. 7. *His Queen*, Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of Edward IV.

l. 10. *His mother*: Margaret Beaufort, great grand-daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster.

l. 14. *Foxe*: Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester.

l. 23. *strangeness*, appearance of unfriendliness.

l. 32. *airs*, confidential information.

PAGE 166, l. 5. *admirable*, wonderful.

l. 13. *liegers*, resident ambassadors.

l. 24. *casting*, contriving.

l. 30. *flies*, spies; cf. Fr. *mouche*.

PAGE 168, l. 7. *dependencies*, groups of people dependent on this or that prince or noble.

l. 30. *Cardinal Hadrian*, Adrian de Castello, English Ambassador at Rome and Bishop of Bath and Wells.

l. 34. Francis Marsin and John Stile were sent in 1504 on commissions of inquiry about the young widowed Queen of Naples, whom Henry, himself a widower, then thought of marrying.

PAGE 169, l. 31. *watches*, precautions.

PAGE 170, l. 2. *consort*, concert, agreement.

l. 4. *tres magi*, the Three Wise Men.

l. 6. *long of*, along of, because of.

l. 7. *just*, regular, normal.

l. 19. *Margaret Beaufort*, the great benefactress of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, married (1) Edmund Tudor, (2) Henry Stafford, (3) Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby.

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